Daily Report

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Rehabilitation of Soviet Dissidents 'Anticommunist'

AU2109111889 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
17 Sep 89 p 14

[Petrit Halili article: "Anticommunist Dissidents—A Contingent To Help Perestroyka"]

[Text] The recent publication in the Soviet Union of "The Gulag Archipelago," a well-known anticommunist work by the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, marks a new phase in the rehabilitation under perestroyka of a whole galaxy of writers, artists, and intellectuals whose work sets itself against the process of political, economic, and spiritual transformation inaugurated by the October Revolution. The publication of "The Gulag Archipelago," which portrays the Soviet Union of Stalin's time as an enormous concentration camp, and the planned publication in 1990 of "The First Circle," "Cancer Ward," and the cycle of anti-Leninist and anti-Bolshevik novels about the October Revolution by the same author has been accomplished with the special approval of Gorbachev himself. The purpose of the great commotion within and outside the Soviet Union is not so much to welcome Solzhenitsyn's rehabilitation as to compose fresh paeans to perestroyka, glasnost, and the like.

The publication of Solzhenitsyn's work and his readmission into the Soviet Writers Union followed the rehabilitation of Nekrasov, Medvedev, Aksyonov, Ljubimov, Baryshnikov, Nureyev, Gavrilov, Ashkenazy, and many other writers and artists who have fled the Soviet Union in recent decades, because they wanted a faster and more forthright approach to the reimposition of capitalism in their country, and thus fell foul of the revisionist leadership, who wanted to carry out this process under camouflage. In an article published a few days ago in the magazine OGONEK, the Soviet theater director Ljubimov, who has recently been rehabilitated and has returned to Moscow to work as a producer again, wrote that "everything will change now," stressing that all the things that he and other dissidents had demanded are now becoming a reality.

The propagandists of perestroyka portray the intensive campaign of rehabilitations in literature and art as an expression of "the new spirit," and the "wide opportunities" for freedom in the arts and intellectual life that glasnost and perestroyka have created. It must be said that there were many rehabilitations among the ranks of the creative intelligentsia even before perestroyka, in Khrushchev's time, especially among those who had fled the country in the years immediately following the October Revolution. Rehabilitations are now more widespread than under Khrushchev, and concentrate on those writers and artists who have left in recent decades. The campaign launched by Gorbachev has nothing to do with "artistic and literary goals," nor with the "spiritual renewal" of life in modern Soviet society. The present Soviet leadership has its own purposes in this campaign, which relate to the problems that perestroyka has encountered.

It must first of all be said that there is an ideological and spiritual similarity between perestroyka and the world view of all these dissident and anticommunist writers and artists who are currently being rehabilitated. This similarity lies particularly in their efforts to finally strip every veneer of socialism from every aspect of the country's life. Perestroyka is hastening to carry out everything that Solzhenitsyn, Medvedev, Ljubimov, and others called for long ago, coming out openly not only against Stalin and his policies, but against Lenin, the October Revolution, socialism as a practice, and Marxism as a doctrine. The Soviet writer Andrey Bytov admitted this congruence of anticommunist aims a short time ago, stating that "discussing Solzhenitsyn is in the spirit of glasnost." Thus, Solzhenitsyn's anticommunism and anti-Leninism constitute the spirit of glasnost and perestroyka in the field of artistic creativity.

Perestroyka has need of allies in many fields, and is looking for broad support especially among the ranks of the creative intelligentsia. It seeks these allies particularly among the dissidents, whose work embodies a vision of Soviet society that coincides with that of perestroyka and its counterrevolutionary ideas and plans. At a time when perestroyka is encountering increasingly severe difficulties, and when its failure to yield any of its promised results even 4 and ½ years after its proclamation has caused disillusion and discontent, the Soviet leadership is in need of supporters to justify its philosophy and policies. In the current political, ideological, moral, and intellectual situation, perestroyka seeks to justify itself through this campaign to rehabilitate dissidents, who were the avant garde of the revisionist counterrevolution from its very beginning, and who through their haste fell foul of the earlier revisionist leadership.

The leadership is attempting to recruit this rehabilitated dissident intelligentsia to the cause of publicizing perestroyka and its ideas. In this way, perestroyka is trying to present itself to domestic public opinion as a philosophy in harmony with the spirit and aspirations of art and creativity. However, this coincidence has nothing to with art, but everything to do with political and ideological goals, which extend to outright anticommunism. It is just this anticommunist and anti-Leninist direction that the recently-rehabilitated emigre Soviet writer Aksyonov has called "a real miracle." This alleged "miracle" goes so far as to blame not only Stalin, but Lenin and Marx for the major crises and problems facing the Soviet Union today, from the economic crisis to the interethnic crisis. For instance, the Soviet philosopher A. Tsipko recently published an article in the periodical NAUKA I ZHIZN in which he attacked Karl Marx and Lenin and blamed their doctrines for the present evils in the Soviet Union. Marx is attacked for "failing to predict problems and difficulties" in the organization of society, and for "lack of historical experience," while, carrying his criticism further, the author runs for help to Bakunin, quoting him on "the great danger of Marxist ideas and their class vision." In the same vein, this Soviet writer

also accuses Lenin and Stalin, who, according to him, pursued "a policy of national self-destruction."

In this current campaign to rehabilitate the dissidents who once fled the Soviet Union, what must be stressed is the attitude of the West to perestroyka and the entire reform program in the revisionist countries. Circles of Western capital have never before offered such large-scale financial and moral support to reforms in the Soviet Union. In this context, a situation has arisen for Soviet dissidents in the West, in which they are more useful in attacking and destroying values within the Soviet Union, within the framework of perestroyka, than they would be if they continued to attack the socialist system while remaining in the West. Under these new circumstances, it is in the interest of the West to dispatch to the aid of perestroyka all those writers and artists living in the West. It is perestroyka itself that produces the worst attacks and slanders against socialism and the Soviet Union's socialist period in the days of Lenin and Stalin; thus the dissidents' activities have more effect for the capitalists and their anticommunist tactics if the dissidents are in their own country. Thus, the interests of the West and those of the Soviet leadership coincide, and the problem of the dissidents, from being a bone of contention, has become a matter of common concern.

By inviting all the anticommunist writers and artists from the West, the Soviet leadership is trying to further reinforce the spirit of anticommunism in Soviet intellectual life, and in particular to introduce typically Western practices, for which the doors have long been open, in literary and artistic life. In particular, this implies the commercialization of literary and artistic life, and the treatment of art as a branch of business. The Soviet pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy, who has been rehabilitated and who will give two concerts in Moscow in November after 26 years in the West, in an interview with a foreign magazine hailed "Gorbachev's welcoming hand, which has given our composers the opportunity to sell their music abroad and to the West."

The aim of the campaign to rehabilitate anticommunist writers and artists is to strengthen the position of perestroyka and the Soviet leadership. This is a further glimpse of the leadership's policy of exploiting every possible counterrevolutionary force in order to push through the capitalist reforms in the Soviet Union. They attempt to attach an artistic or cultural label to this anticommunist policy and to this alliance of perestroyka with the most open and anticommunist right-wing forces. However, beneath the veneer of art and culture, one sees the reality of a pseudo-art and pseudo-culture which puts political servility in front of the true nature and goals of creativity.

Serbian Patriarchate's Claim to Shkoder Refuted

AU1609155689 Tirana ATA in English
0906 GMT 16 Sep 89

["Expansionist Appetites of Serbia's Patriarchate"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 16 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT of September 16, carries a writing which says: Several days ago the Croatian magazine DANAS carried a news item entitled "It Smells of Incense," which said that "the dean of the Faculty of Theology in Belgrade, the bishop of the Serbian Patriarchate, Irenej Buljovic, was nominated bishop of Shkoder and Pec Commune with residence in Prizren. His duty is to take care of the Orthodox believers in Albania."

In case this assignment smelled only of incense, no one would ever be worried. At most incense disperses a nice intoxicating smell.

But it smells of a bad chauvinistic and dangerous air.

Since Christ was born until nowadays, neither has Shkoder ever been Serbian, nor have its former Orthodox believers been under the jurisdiction of its sacred church.

It is not a surprise that the Serbian Patriarchate might have claims of extending its power over foreign territories. What is surprising is the silence those ruling in Belgrade keep today towards these expansionist and dangerous appetites.

Possibly this silence may be considered as not important. But recently in Serbia it is ever more disseminated the formula "where there are Serbian churches, it is also Serbian land." Precisely here lies the danger that the expansionist aspirations of the church be transformed into state politics.

Baker-Shevardnadze Meeting To Give 'Impetus'

AU0709121389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Sep 89 p 5

[Ivanka Khlebarova article: "Anticipated Impetus"]

[Text] The meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will take place at the very beginning of the forthcoming political autumn. Undoubtedly, the meeting, which will take place on 22 and 23 September at Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming, will give a new impetus to resolving many important issues of USSR-U.S. bilateral relations, as well as many world issues.

The agenda encompasses issues that traditionally are being reviewed at the two countries' summit meetings: disarmament and talks related to various kinds of weapons, and many important regional issues related to Afghanistan, Cambodia, Southern Africa, and Central America. Topical world problems such as combating the drug traffic, combating terrorism, and ecological issues will also be reviewed.

According to well-informed sources, the two foreign ministers will also discuss the preparations for the forthcoming Mikhail Gorbachev-George Bush summit.

All this shows that the forthcoming dialogue will encompass a broad range of issues and will give a new impetus to resolving many important problems of our time.

Undoubtedly, the 50 percent reduction of the USSR and U.S. strategic offensive weapons will occupy a leading place among the disarmament issues. As is known, a good opportunity to achieve real progress emerged at the USSR-U.S. Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons.

The Shevardnadze-Baker meeting, which will take place only 5 days before the resumption of the Geneva talks, is expected to give a new impetus to those talks.

In recent years USSR-U.S. relations have been developing in a dynamic fashion. Many seeds, planted months ago, have already sprouted. The meetings between the two countries' foreign ministers are no longer merely routine affairs, but give an impetus to resolving many bilateral and international problems. Their contribution in this respect is beyond any doubt.

National Unity Crucial to Muslim Issue

AU2109102589 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[Prof Ilcho Dimitrov article: "May It Progress and Live Forever"]

[Excerpts] We are living in a tense and responsible time. We are witnessing dramatic and fateful events, in which we are taking part. We are moved, excited, and concerned by many things—restructuring in the USSR, uncertainty in Poland, the economic situation and the new organization of our economy.... However, more than anything else we are concerned with the unity of our people, the strength of our state, and the future of our children. [passage omitted]

As a result of cruel historical fate and our own hesitation, illusions, and doctrinaire dogmas, we Bulgarians have suffered heavy national losses. We cannot allow this any longer, if we are to survive as a nation and state.

The Bulgarian state again emerged on the European map only 111 years ago. It was precisely in Bulgaria that the Muslim population began to live under a democratic legal order for the first. The people's democratic government revealed the most favorable possibilities of leading this population out of its poverty and conservatism, and directing it toward material and intellectual progress.

However, the hope that socialism would automatically lead toward national unity was not justified. Bulgarian citizens were manipulated from outside, their lasting affiliation was hindered, and their adherence to socialist Bulgaria was undermined. [passage omitted]

Islamization in Bulgaria did not mean a change of religion alone. The Turkish Empire identified religious belief with national consciousness. The present Turkish rulers adhere to the same tradition. This Islamization became an instrument of obliterating national character. This dogma had to be destroyed.

Restoring the names was not merely the culmination of a continuous evolution, but primarily a qualitatively new stage in the policy of affiliation. However, not everything that is necessary is implemented in the manner in which it was initially conceived. It is most difficult to achieve what one wants most of all.

Turkization strongly asserted itself through Islamization. The result was that Bulgarian consciousness was obliterated, or at least veiled. Then, why are we surprised that a part of the Muslim population felt pained by receiving the new names, and at the first opportunity headed for the Turkish border?

The names are not a goal in themselves. National unity is the goal. This unity is in the interest of all Bulgarians, regardless of their religious origin.

It is a dangerous illusion to hope that a crucial change can be achieved within a short period, or to proclaim the goals we have set ourselves as being implemented.

It is too early to draw a balance. [passage omitted]

It is an ancient truth that a later event is not necessarily a consequence of earlier events. I recall this because, as a result of ignorance or political designs, or in an attempt to justify certain developments, some people explain the decision of hundreds of thousands of people to head toward Turkey by referring to the change in the names.

Things are sometimes simpler than they may seem. Artificially complicating them testifies to the fact that we are not able or do not want to see them as they really are.

A situation that consolidated over centuries cannot be changed with one strike, or within a year or two. A part of the Bulgarian Muslims have always wanted to emigrate to Turkey, believing that Turkey is their real motherland. This desire was also evident when the Turkish-Arab names were obligatory. Substantial groups continued to emigrate; however, due to reasons beyond their control, not all those who wanted to emigrate really succeeded in doing so.

A special situation emerged this spring. Instigative promises on the part of Turkey fanned the desire of many people to depart for Turkey. A special declaration of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, expressed the Bulgarian position related to strictly adhering to the new international agreements and allowed the possibility of utilizing the rights created by the new passport system before the system itself was introduced.

The unilateral closing of the border again confirmed the fact that Ankara's promises and decisions are not at all prompted by concern for the Bulgarian Muslims, and that those Bulgarian citizens are again being subjected to manipulation and dangerous political calculations. Only 2-3 years ago a whole show was staged to transfer a famous Bulgarian weightlifter from Australia to Turkey. Such escapes will not be staged any longer. Everyone has the right to depart for Turkey and settle there. Whether Ankara will greet them with open arms, as it used to do when this served propaganda actions, is another question. [passage omitted]

The foreign reaction must also be noted.

I personally tend to treat with understanding and respect any humane position, when it is an honest and sincere one, even when it is based on ignorance and an abstract approach. However, I am suspicious of official statements, even when they contain the most philanthropic appeals. Behind them I discern great state selfishness, political calculations, and demagogy.

One notices that the declaration of NATO's general secretary and some other officials of the Western states appeared not 4 years ago, but now, when the National Assembly adopted a law that confirms the international agreements. On the one hand, the allies demonstrated solidarity with Turkey. On the other hand, a pretext was found in Bulgaria, too, to confirm the general thesis of Western propaganda about the failure of socialist theory and practice, and particularly about the national issue. [passage omitted]

Our small but ancient people has no aggressive or hegemonist ambitions. Our aspirations do not encumber anyone. They are simply aimed at managing our land and guaranteeing our peaceful and calm future. This is in the interest of good-neighborly relations in the Balkans and European peace. Is it really a sin to adhere to equality in international relations, protecting the dignity of every state, big and small alike, and guaranteeing its sovereign right to resolve its own problems by itself?

National unity is an ideal that has been bequeathed to us by our national revival. The concern about the strength of our state, the unity of our people, and the prosperity of our motherland as a worthy and equal member of the common European family is above everything and everyone.

Bulgaria is the motherland of all Bulgarian citizens. Its peaceful upsurge, independence, and dignity are our common duty. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov Greets Ceausescu on Anniversary

AU1909141389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, has sent the following message to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu,

Please accept my most cordial greetings on the 110th anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations between our two countries.

The annals of our modern history prompt us to recall with gratitude the mutual assistance between Bulgarians and Romanians, so vividly demonstrated during the 1877-78 Russian-Turkish War of Liberation. Romania was one of the first European countries that supported the efforts of our newly restored state to consolidate its independence and established diplomatic relations with Bulgaria. For 11 decades already Bulgaria and Romania have maintained contacts as sovereign and equal states.

The establishment of people's governments in Bulgaria and Romania marked the beginning of relations of new type between our countries and peoples.

Good-neighborly relations between Bulgaria and Romania contribute to strengthening confidence and understanding in the Balkans, turning them into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and asserting security and cooperation in Europe and the world.

I believe that in the future Bulgarian-Romanian relations and fruitful cooperation will also develop along an ascending line, on the basis of the bilateral treaties, and in the spirit of the new political thinking, for the benefit of the Bulgarian and Romanian peoples and the cause of peace and socialism.

Atanasov Receives CSSR Control Official

AU2009070589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] On 19 September Comrade Georgi Atanasov received Frantisek Ondrich, chairman of the CSSR People's Control Committee. They exchanged information on the process of restructuring in the two countries. The total coincidence of goals and tasks that Bulgaria and the CSSR are resolving in this process was noted.

Progress of World AIDS Research Surveyed

AU2109113889

[Editorial report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 17 September on page 3 under the headline "AIDS—How Far Have We Got in Treating It?" carries 300-word statistical data on the spread of AIDS throughout the world, "published by the WHO," and two articles analyzing in general terms the spread of AIDS and the progress of AIDS-related research. The articles are preceded by an editorial note which reads:

"According to international experts by the end of the century there will be 20 million cases of AIDS. More than 5 million people will die of AIDS by then.

"According to the most recent data on the spread of AIDS in our country, published by the AIDS Program Council at the Bulgarian Medical Academy, there are 81 HIV-positive cases in Bulgaria, three persons are sick, and two have died so far."

The first article is a 1,000-word article by Prof Svetoslav Todorov, "deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Medical Academy," entitled: "Where Is Man Going?" Prof Todorov surveys the progress of developing vaccination against AIDS and stresses at the very beginning that "unfortunately, at the present stage of our research of the AIDS virus I must say that the final goal of developing the appropriate vaccination, seems a very difficult and distant one." Prof Todorov surveys various reports on the progress of AIDS research read at the June 1989 Montreal Conference and explains the nature of the illness. He ventures the pessimistic opinion that "the development of a remedy for AIDS is a difficult and continuous process, which at present has no guarantee of success."

The second article is a 1,000-word article by Zlatko Agelov, entitled: "Social Challenge." Unlike Prof Todorov's article, which deals exclusively with the medical aspects of AIDS, Angelov concentrates on the social aspects of the illness. Angelov points out that "when it was established that AIDS is most often transmitted through sex and injecting narcotics in the veins, it still was unknown that soon people throughout the world will be divided into two categories—those infected with the virus, and those who are not infected. Furthermore, the first group is constantly growing because of the ignorance and irresponsibility of the second."

Angelov describes the social plight of people infected with the AIDS virus and their efforts to organize themselves in an attempt to defend their social rights. In conclusion he stresses that it is up to every society to decide how to deal with people infected with AIDS, asserting that "in the final account the point is how to combine the safety of society with the civil personal rights, so that both the ill and the healthy ones would feel that their interests are protected."

Internal Affairs Minister Defends Secrecy

AU2109083789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, by Gencho Boshnakov: "Forever Loyal to the Cause of Revolution, to the Party and People"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Boshnakov] Comrade Minister, first of all, I would like to congratulate you most sincerely on the 45th anniversary of the establishment of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Through you, I would like to convey my best wishes to all employees for health and new successes in their tasks, which are by no means easy.

[Tanev] Thank you, and permit me to express the gratitude of the entire Ministry of Internal Affairs personnel to all Bulgarian citizens and collectives who conveyed us warm congratulations on our holiday and expressed sincere wishes, hope, and recommendations for our work. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] Despite all this festive mood, our thoughts are "pushing" this interview toward topical subjects and requirements. I know that rebukes are not the most delicate methods of transition to another subject, but we seemed to have some difficulties in persuading you to grant us this interview. In the meantime, numerous questions related to various aspects of the activities of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs accumulated on the desks of our editorial board. Are the changes resulting from publicity and glasnost causing new problems and worries?

[Tanev] In my opinion, the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs should not be blamed for showing a certain reticence in this respect. After all, the activities of our organs are not accessible to the public, which does not mean that we are "inaccessible" to the spirit of our time. It is, however, appropriate to consider these things in a separate order. On the one hand, we cannot seriously deny the right of the public to be informed about the protection of their own state and nation, because our society is interested in confidently determining its own fate. Under the conditions of general detente and new political thinking, the realm of secrets and the area controlled by secrets will be increasingly restricted.

On the other hand, however, so far nowhere in the world has the awareness of the mutual interdependence of state interests and the requirement for a dialogue, based on

equal rights in solving conflicts and problems, diminished the importance of intelligence and counterintelligence work, or the necessity for the reliable protection of a country's state borders. Like all other nations, we are interested in defending our security and the interests of our state, in protecting the intellectual and material results of our people's efforts against evil intentions. This conviction inspires the worthy sons and daughters of our people to devote the best years of their lives to their silent profession, and to place their unique human virtues at the service of the socialist state which they are protecting. Gullibility and naivete would be real crimes under such circumstances. For this reason, we can assume that more will be talked and written about intellience and counterintelligence work when something is wrong in that area.

Our Constitution respects the right of inviolability related to certain interests and secrets of individual citizens and collectives. This principle applies to state secrets, and it is our duty to protect them. For this reason, we shall further accomplish our professional duty—namely to pass on relevant information only to those whom it concerns, and to do so only when the situation calls for it.

In the second place, we realize that the principles and ideals of socialist self-management, the new role of man and of society in the country's political life are introducing changes in the relations between the state and security. New mechanisms are required in order to develop the sense of responsibility of social groups and of society as a whole in relation to security questions. We need new models of methods for the protection of valuable information. In connection with the expanding direct contacts with foreign partners, our companies have an opportunity to observe the carefully organized forms of protection which the foreign partners apply in watching over their own production-technical and commercial novelties, as well as their aspiration to discover the secrets of a counterpart. We should be prepared for the uncompromising rules of the business game. Our great ambition to consolidate our material and intellectual achievements and to protect the brand name of a product made in Bulgaria on the world market is indissolubly connected with vigilance and with the tested people's wisdom about keeping our milk covered.

The third aspect of the question is related to the fact that we are sometimes overcautious in publicizing in a timely way certain phenomena and dangers which disturb our society. I am not a supporter of sensationalism as a means of educating public opinion. However, when it is necessary to raise the alarm and mobilize healthy social forces against negative phenomena and sores, our mass media seem to fail in their organizational skill.

In this respect, I cannot help expressing some criticism related to unutilized opportunities for the cooperation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs with social organizations and mass media. The critical remarks of the party and the strict requirements of our society are justified in this respect. It is our intention to submit a proposal to the government for simplifying and rationalizing the procedures of journalists' access to certain files, topical information, and statistical data in some sectors of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Boshnakov] This certainly is good news, and I have no doubt that the mass media will devote the necessary efforts in this respect.

[Tanev] We rely on your involvement. We are confident that, as a result of this, Bulgarian citizens will be better informed about the state and problems of security and public order.

[Boshnakov] Apart from this new attitude to glasnost, can you describe which aspects of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' activities are now being subjected to reassessment and further development?

[Tanev] Since the first days of their existence, the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have assumed an unchanging responsibility—namely that of guaranteeing public security, law and order, and a peaceful life on Bulgarian territory. The fateful price of this guarantee has formed the image of the Ministry of Internal Affairs employee and has determined the method and style of our work. There were certainly shortcomings over the years, and difficult periods have occurred, but this is an integral part of every struggle. Nevertheless, the party and people never allowed the spirit of protecting our legislation, of defending law and order to be distorted. Our philosophical guideline today is unmistakable—to guarantee and protect the dialectical succession of all the intransigent values of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the political process of the transfer of power in the name of the people to power directly implemented by the people. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] The methods of this transition are the topic of lively commentaries and passionate discussions in our country today. Can you describe your attitude to civic discipline, but also to socialist pluralism as integal elements of political life in our country today?

[Tanev] I think that it is quite normal to respect every Bulgarian citizen's right to his own opinion and his own view on the successes, problems and trends of social development. The only restriction is that the citizens' activities should not be in contradiction with the Constitution and with legislation, and that it should not endanger the security of the state, of society, and of the other citizens. If this limit is transgressed, the attitude of the Ministry of Internal Affairs can no longer be determined by the heat of discussions, but only by strict countermeasures dictated by our legislation. This is a necessary element of every law-governed state and every civic society. I realize that this statement may trigger disagreements and further discussions about the limits of security, but it is the legislator who has the last word on this issue. [passage omitted]

It is our stand that, from whatever point of view we consider it, the restructuring process in the political system itself represents a natural and revolutionary transition. Under such circumstances both our historical experience and the present political barometer point toward a drastic intensification of all political factors. Social groups and communities, as well as individual citizens are pursuing their goals with much greater elan. Interests and approaches are clashing. Constructive efforts are frequently marked by impatience. The ardent striving to obtain prompt results may become explosive. [passage omitted]

Hence, the law, order, and security organs should build up their relations with the labor collectives, the intelligentsia, and young people in a new manner. Our relations with the individual Bulgarian citizen, who, responding to social needs, is striving for even greater confidence and freedom in expressing his human individuality, should be further developed. [passage omitted]

Let us mention another subject. It is every nation's supreme right to select its own system of social relations and to determine its own methods and means of asserting its national cause. Nevertheless, reactionary and conservative forces exist in the world today which do not accept the new political thinking and do not conceal their intention of taking advantage of the processes of renewal for their own purposes. We are witnessing an increased ideological impact aimed at distorting the people's initiative and creative energies, inducing them to adopt attitudes of arbitrariness, of political, and national nihilism. [passage omitted]

For this reason, in seeking our place in the process of redistribution of power to the advantage of labor collectives and communities, we realize our responsibilities in intensifying the political vigilance of society. It is in our common interest to prevent restructuring from being mutilated, arrested in its progress, or directed into a dead-end street. In the future it will continue to be our ambition to enforce the law in all its strictness and to guarantee public support for law and order, for peaceful life, and security, for the protection of our individual citizen, and of the entire Bulgarian people along the path of restructuring.

[Boshnakov] On this basis, can you describe the changes implemented in the organizational structure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs? Such an explanation is likely to facilitate the readers' acceptance of the new ideas which are inspiring the restructuring process in your ministry's organs.

[Tanev] We have established municipal Ministry of Internal Affairs sections as basic territorial organs of law and order, of security and fire brigades. The former okrug sections were closed down and oblast administrations were opened.

Along with this, we are convinced that the organizational restructuring within the administrive framework does not automatically mean a qualitative improvement in our work related to the protection of individual citizens and society. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] In enforcing the observance of law and order, what is now the more important issue—punishment, or organizational and educational measures? To a greater or lesser extent, public opinion seems inclined to assume that the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are more interested in establishing and sanctioning violations than in working for conditions that facilitate crime prevention.

[Tanev] Our society has established a defense system which combines the principles of persuasion and coercion. Sanctions based on the law are an extreme measure of persuasion which is preceeded by extensive efforts to prevent citizens from violating the laws and to educate them in a spirit of respect for the socialist order. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] The question of whether your employees deal with the citizens in a civilized manner is even more topical. The general impression is that considerable progress has been achieved in this respect in recent years, but cases of rude behavior and action from the position of strength still occur.

[Tanev] We have also observed such positive trends and we are glad that society has taken notice of them. What I do not like is the division of militia men and citizens into "ours" and "yours." Problems and negative phenomena in relations with citizens certainly exist. Nevertheless, every profession has a pyschological impact on the attitudes and behavior of man. It is a fact that activities related to the protection of law and order usually take place in situations of conflict.

[Boshnakov] Can you describe those cases in which coercive measures are allowed and justified, and whether they can be avoided at all?

[Tanev] Starting from the great responsibilities of the functionaries of law and order the legislator has expressly established those cases in which coercive measures are called for. [Passage omitted]

Despite the increased strictness of society and the categorical stand of the party and administrative leaderships that cases of negative phenomena in the ranks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs should not be tolerated, such cases of unjustified use of strength or rude behavior toward people still exist. We are ashamed of such employees whenever citizens report to us about unjustified insults, cases of employees taking advantage of their position for personal benefit, or cases of passive attitudes, and a bureaucratic approach toward the people. As a result of this and in accordance with the gravity of their offenses, 452 employees were punished and 65 of them were dismissed on disciplinary grounds in 1988.

We shall continue to increase exigence toward oneself, to purge our ranks of people who fail to observe the law and disregard professional ethics. However, we also expect

even more active support from Bulgarian citizens in connection with the protection of our peaceful life and the maintenance of law and order in the streets, in residential districts, and in the stadiums. Our analyses show that the high degree of social safety and personal protection produced a certain carelessness, a feeling of impunity, and even unjustified aggressiveness. Certain cases of attacks on employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were reported in the press.

Similar actions are subject to the most severe legal sanctions in other countries. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] Do drug addiction, prostitution, corruption, and profiteering exist in our country?

[Tanev] Drug addicts, prostitutes, corrupt citizens, and profiteeers exist in our country, but the level of such crimes is not very extensive. The decisive social factors restrict their expansion on a mass scale. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] What about organized crime in Bulgaria; are there any manifestations of such crime?

[Tanev] Many criminal acts are not spontaneous, they are premeditated and intentional. Nevertheless, organized crime as it is known in other countries does not exist in our country. We have evidence of individual cases of association for criminal purposes in order to gain temporary benefits. However, this should not be a reason for self-complacency. [passage omitted]

A positive factor is that Bulgaria today is participating in the all-European process as a state with a stable social system. Nevertheless, in the spirit of common concern we are seeking cooperation and offering assistance in the struggle against drug addiction, terrorism, and the illegal traffic of currency and values, against various other forms of organized crime. The steps adopted for the restoration of the Bulgarian militia organs' INTERPOL membership are an expression of this readiness for international cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Boshnakov] A letter sent by the Secretariat of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee to oblast and municipal BCP committees expresses serious criticism of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Can you describe the changes that have occurred in their work in the meantime? Is the criticism still valid? How do you see the role and importance of cooperation with the public in this context, and what is being done and should be accomplished in order to intensify such cooperation. Do you have any new ideas in this respect?

[Tanev] The critical remarks addressed to the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are justified and accurate. [passage omitted] The leadership of the ministry will take advantage of its rights of initiative in order to prepare and adopt a statute on cooperation between the law and order organs and the basic social communities. We intend to reveal the new role and social involvement of the district inspector, who is best acquainted with the local inhabitants and their living conditions. [passage omitted]

We will search for new forms of partnership with the Komosmol and the social organizations.

The strength of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be determined by the party's confidence and the Bulgarian people's affection.

Let us loyally and honestly serve the cause of the party and people, the cause of restructuring—this is our irrevocable vocation.

Government Issues Decree on Animal Farming

AU2109074189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Sep 89 p 1

[Report: "Intensive Growth and Lasting Incentives"]

[Text] In order to more fully satisfy the population's needs for animal products and the processing industry's raw material requirements, the Council of Ministers has adopted a special decree that creates the necessary conditions for increasing the numbers of sheep and cattle and further developing sheep and cattle breeding for dairy production. A package of additional incentives is envisaged for stepping up the development of these important subbranches of animal breeding by the collective and individual agricultural farms.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, executive committees of the oblast and municipal people's councils, collective agricultural farms, and the other agricultural organizations are instructed to approve practical measures and create an organization for increasing the numbers of cows and sheep. In the plan for 1990 and the following years of the 5-year plan, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Agricultural Academy, the "Cattle and Sheep Breeding" Economic Trust, and the "Veterinary Science" State Trust are to ensure the intensive development of cattle and sheep breeding by broadly applying ecologically friendly technologies for raising animals and introducing highly productive milking installations outside the farm buildings. The relevant organs and organizations are charged with ensuring the supply of the necessary milking installations. It is planned to further improve selection and breeding work in accordance with the specific ecological conditions, in order to ensure that by 1995 the following average figures are reached for the country as a whole: 4,300 liters of milk per cow, 65 liters of milk and 5 kg of wool per sheep, 85 calves per 100 cows, and 107 lambs per 100 ewes.

In order to preserve and increase the numbers of animals in the main herds and flocks, it is decided that the culling of cows and sheep should be carried out in strict accordance with the established procedure, with the reports on culling to be approved by the chairmen of the commissions on agriculture, forestry, and water management

and on meeting the population's needs from their own resources attached to the executive committees of the oblast people's councils.

Beginning on 1 January 1990, the executive committees of the municipal people's councils will pay communal and private farms and cooperatives in mountain and upland regions and regions affected by migration processes 500 leva per cow, 600 leva per buffalo cow, and 60 leva per ewe, while in all other regions the payments will comprise 350 leva per cow, 500 leva per buffalo cow, and 40 leva per ewe. The incentives are provided only for the increased numbers of cows, buffalo cows, and ewes as compared with the numbers recorded on 31 December of the previous year, from which offspring have been produced during the current year. The funds needed for this purpose are to be provided by Ministry of Planning and Economy and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, which also determine the procedure for their disbursement.

Collective agricultural farms, other agricultural organizations, cooperatives, and private farms that permit falls in the numbers of cows and buffalo cows during a period of up to 5 years, and in numbers of ewes during a 3-year period from the date of receipt of the incentives will pay the amounts back into the state budget, together with interest.

The decree contains a provision enabling sheep farmers from collective agricultural farms, other agricultural organizations, and ancillary farms, as well as piece-workers, leaseholders, and private farmers, to purchase foreign exchange of nonsocialist countries at the rate established by the Bulgarian National Bank against part of the foreign exchange receipts of companies exporting dairy products. During 1990 they may purchase 4 convertible leva for every 100 liters of standard sheep's milk with a 6.5-percent fat content handed over to the purchasing organizations, and in 1991 and succeeding years they may purchase 5 convertible leva for every 100 liters of milk. The necessary foreign exchange for this purpose is taken by the Bulgarian National Bank from the accounts of the respective companies exporting dairy products in accordance with a procedure agreed with the Ministry of Planning and Economy.

The companies in the system of the "Industry for Man" Association and other purchasing organizations will hand over part of their own foreign exchange funds to the producers on a contractual basis against the wool and hides supplied by the latter.

The following supplements to purchasing prices are determined as from 1 January 1990:

—for cow's milk with a 3.4-percent fat content, 140 leva for 1,000 liters;

—for buffalo milk with a 7.5-percent fat content, 780 leva for 1,000 liters;

—for sheep's milk with a 6.5-percent fat content, 780 leva for 1,000 liters; and

—for unwashed wool, 4,000 leva per tonne.

The funds for the additional payments are provided from the state budget.

With these supplements, from 1 January 1990 the purchase price for cow's milk will be 550 leva per 1,000 liters, the purchasing prices for buffalo milk and sheep's milk will be 1,600 and 1,500 leva respectively, and the price for unwashed wool will be 12,000 leva per tonne.

In the plan for 1990 and the 10th 5-year period, the Ministry of Planning and Economy is instructed to place state orders and ensure conditions for concluding state-economic contracts for an annual production of at least 200 milk cooling vats and 150 milking installations for sheep, as well as small milking installations for cows and sheep for the needs of leaseholders and private farmers. The plan for 1900 is to provide 1.8 million converible leva for the import from nonsocialist countries of an installation for the production of a powdered milk replacer for lambs with an annual capacity of 3,500 tonnes.

In order to improve supplies and diversify the range of dairy products, the Ministry of Planning and Economy and Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry are instructed to approve before the end of October 1989, jointly with the executive committees of the people's councils, practical measures for organizing the production of fresh and sour milk in dairies and small enterprises during the period up to 1992. The ministries will define the procedure and conditions for providing the necessary funds and equipment and ensuring economic conditions for increasing the production of biologically pure and delicatessen dairy and meat products in specialized ecological regions. In the plan for 1990 and the following years they will specify the types and volumes of production of biologically pure products.

Guarantees are provided for purchase of the entire quantity of animal products produced and offered by all producers. In the event of purchasing organizations refusing to purchase products offered according to contract, the producers are entitled to sell the products in the most advantageous manner, irrespective of the forfeits and compensation provided for in the contract.

The collective agricultural farms, other agricultural organizations, and cooperatives are recommended to hand over cows and ewes removed from the breeding stock to private citizens for fattening at prices applying to the animals at slaughter, and also to provide them with buildings for rearing the animals at minimum rents.

At the proposal of the executive committees of the oblast people's councils, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry is instructed to approve before 1 October 1989 quotas for the numbers of sheep that will be reared in mountain and upland farms during 1990 and the 10th 5-year-plan period.

In order to raise labor productivity and ensure fuller utilization of pastures, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the executive committees of the oblast people's councils should create conditions for the introduction of ecologically friendly technologies into sheep farming and the construction of three experimental model farms in each oblast for the rearing of sheep on pastures all the year round without milking, with a quota of at least 1,000 sheep per stock man-machine operator. For this purpose, the Ministry of Planning and Economy and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry are to create conditions in the plan for 1990 for the production of the necessary equipment and machinery for the sheep farms using the new technology.

Special attention is paid in the decree to the development of cattle and sheep farming in mountain regions.

The executive committees of the oblast and municipal people's councils are instructed to take practical measures and allocate funds to restore the infrastructure in small villages and hamlets in mountain and upland regions, in order to create conditions for their early repopulation and the rapid development of sheep and cattle farming in them. For this purpose, from 1 January 1990 the following incentives are established for those who have settled in hamlets and small villages, according to a list determined by the executive committees of the oblast people's councils by agreement with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry:

—The settlers are provided with free housing and farm buildings if they accept an undertaking to rear sheep and cattle;

—The State Savings Bank will make the following loans to new settlers and local inhabitants without initial contributions: for house construction or purchase, up to 30,000 leva, to be paid back over 30 years; for repairs to houses and farm buildings, up to 10,000 leva, to be repaid over 15 years; and for developing private farms, up to 2,000 leva per family member, with a maximum of 6,000 leva per family, to be repaid over 10 years.

In the case of new settlers and local inhabitants who continue to live and work in these centers of population after the expiry of a 15-year period, the residue of a loan obtained for building or purchasing a house is paid back out of the budget, provided that the amount does not exceed 10,000 leva and regular repayments have been made.

The decree creates conditions to ensure fuller utilization of the land and pastures in mountain regions for producing animal products. For this purpose, the organs for land settlement and land use will provide new settlers with the necessary tillable land and pastures in amounts in accordance with the conditions in the individual regions and the numbers of sheep and cattle to be raised.

The amounts of money obtained by all persons who raise sheep, cattle, and other horned stock by their own labor and that of their families are exempted from general income tax, and the requirement for the production to be sold to cooperative or agricultural organizations is rescinded.

Number of Refugees in FRG Embassy Increases

LD2109113889 Hamburg DPA in German 1037 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—The number of refugees in the Bonn mission in Prague continues to increase. A Bundestag delegation headed by Peter Glotz, Social Democratic Party of Germany Deputy, has been in the CSSR for 4 days. It was reported today, shortly before the delegation flew out of Prague, that there were at present in the embassy "many more than 500 refugees, including 170 children."

"The trend" is "upwards," it was reported. The delegation, which had spoken several times with the refugees, was, from the delegation's own reports, "deeply moved" by the firm determination of those who did not wish to leave the embassy and did not trust the promise of the GDR. Economic aspects had "in no cases" been determinant factors for escape from the GDR. The crucial factor in the decision of those wishing to emigrate had rather been "the constant treatment as children, the parade-ground tone, and the feeling of remaining permanent underlings."

The refugees problem had featured in all talks which the delegation held with the CSSR authorities. Glotz said that the problem could "only be resolved by humanitarian means." In answer to the direct question whether this means the "Hungarian solution," he said that "even the Hungarian solution itself" had indicated a series of other possibilities, "in addition to the opening of the borders." The various possible solutions must "be examined and discussed with the CSSR."

The Federal German Embassy in Prague itself clearly does notd anticipate a quick solution. Eye witnesses today observed 300 beds being unloaded from a truck in the embassy grounds.

FRG Parliamentary Delegation Ends Visit 21 Sep

LD2209085789 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] The delegation of the FRG -Czechoslovakia Parliamentary Group in the Bundestag ended its visit to Czechoslovakia today. At the airport, we asked the group's chairman, Peter Glotz, for his assessment of the level of inter parliamentary relations between our two countries:

[Begin Glotz recording in German with superimposed Czech translation] A Czechoslovak parliamentary group was in our country on a visit last year. Now we are here on a reciprocal visit. I believe that in the talks they made further progress, and we would like to continue with these relations. Yesterday we discussed the fact that our future contacts should be more thorough; in order to make progress in shaping our inter parliamentary relations, we will be focusing on specific issues, issues of the constitution, the environment, and economic cooperation. I think that it does not pay to fool each other in this respect: on various issues we have differed views, for example on the issue of democratization—I say that quite openly—but overall these relations are important, and I think that both our delegation and parliamentary group and also our colleagues in Czechoslovakia share the view that we should continue these ralations. [end recording]

Delegation Makes Refugee Appeal

LD2209090889 Prague CTK in English 0707 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 22 (CTK)—A delegation of the Bundestag West Germany-Czecholsovakia Parliamentary Group, which ended its four-day visit to Czechoslovakia yesterday, appealed to the Czechoslovak authorities to search for a "humanitarian solution" to the benefit of GDR citizens staying in the West German embassy in Prague, RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

The number of GDR tourists staying in the West German mission was 180 in the middle of September. Their number has again increased, reaching more than 500 at present. 250 persons decided on September 12 to return to their country and left the mission after being officially promised to be able to legally request for emigration.

Head of the West German parliamentary delegation Peter Glotz said during his talks here that apart from the Hungarian decision, there exist also other variations and possibilities which would be better than the current situation in the FRG embassy in Prague.

Official on GDR Citizens Traveling to Hungary

LD2109175489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] The Western media have launched a campaign of slander lately against the Czechoslovak border organs in the context of journeys by GDR nationals to Hungary. Major General Anton Nemec, commander of the Main Directorate of Border Guards and Protection of State Borders, has stated in this respect that in the case of transit journeys to neighboring socialist states, the Czechoslovak border organs are respecting the appropriate interstate agreements. For example, for journeys to Hungary, GDR nationals must have a document of authorization for entry to Hungary issued by the appropriate organs in the GDR. Those who do not have valid travel documents are not allowed to leave Czechoslovakia.

Anton Nemec also rejected claims to the effect that the Czechoslovak border organs are confiscating passports from GDR nationals and the keys to their private cars. GDR nationals who have violated the stipulated norms, he stated, are treated according to the treaty concluded between Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

Anton Nemec also stated that this year no measures have been taken for more strict clearance procedures for travellers at border crossings. On the contrary, in order

to promote tourism, the border zones to the FRG and Austria state borders have been reduced.

Jakes Visits GDR Stand at Brno Fair

LD1809151389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1251 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Brno (ADN)—CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes today expressed his satisfaction at the level of cooperation between the GDR and the CSSR. During a visit to the 31st Brno International Mechanical Engineering Fair, he said at the GDR's collective exhibition that the satisfactory cooperation with the GDR must be developed further. Specialization and cooperation should be deepened. For the first time in the CSSR, GDR mechanical engineering is exhibiting in Brno—the DXF-2 rotation cell [drehzelle] which can be inserted as a component in flexible production systems.

Gold medals were also awarded at the Brno fair today. Among the 32 manufacturers who received them are, the "Fortschritt Landmaschinen" enterprise and the "Ernst Thalmann" heavy engineering industrial combine in Magdeburg.

At the weekend CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec told GDR exhibitors during a walkabout at the fair that it is important to develop still further bilateral cooperation in mechanical engineering.

GDR's Schabowski Visits, Received by Jakes

LD2109171589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1200 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Milos Jakes, the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, met Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and first secretary of the SED Berlin area executive for friendly talks in Prague today. During the talks the politicians praised the firm militant alliance of the two fraternal parties. Guenter Schabowski conveyed greeting from Erich Honecker and described how the working people in the GDR are preparing for the forthcoming jubilee of the republic with high achievements in their work.

Talks Described as 'Friendly'

LD2109230989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1712 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (ADN)—The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Milos Jakes, today met the member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin Area Executive Committee of the SED, for friendly talks in Prague. During this the SED politician conveyed warmest greetings from Erich Honecker, which Milos Jakes asked him to reciprocate just as cordially. At the same time Guenter Schabowski conveyed an invitation from the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State to the celebrations on the occasion of the republic's 40th birthday. It was accepted with gratitude.

Jakes and Schabowski paid tribute to the firm and tested militant alliance between the CPCZ and the SED, the results of comprehensive cooperation between the two fraternal socialist states and the friendship between their peoples. They had a wide-ranging exchange of opinions on the international situation, including the unbridled anticommunist campaign by certain Western circles, in the FRG in particular, which was mainly directed against the socialist social order in the GDR and CSSR.

The SED delegation, led by Guenter Schabowski, which also included the mayor of the GDR's capital, Erhard Krack, arrived for a 1-day visit this morning. They had been invited by the Prague Committee of the CPCZ.

CTK Reports Talks

LD2109213989 Prague CTK in English 2034 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here Thursday Politburo member and secretary of the GDR Socialist Unity Party of Germany Guenther Schabowski, who was on a short working visit to Prague.

Milos Jakes appreciated cooperation between the two parties and states and called for operative working contacts on all levels.

The GDR representative informed Milos Jakes of the situation in his country, and the achievements of the economic development in the GDR.

Jakes, Adamec Visit Romanian Stand at Brno

AU2009071589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1823 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Prague, AGERPRES, 19/9/1989—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Ladislav Adamec, prime minister of Czechoslovakia, visited the Romanian pavilion at the International Machine Building Fair in Brno.

The Romanian exhibits were highly appreciated and the wish was expressed to develop further the Romanian-Czechoslovak economic relations in step with the economic potential of the two countries and in keeping with the summit understandings between Romania and Czechoslovakia.

Romanian Minister of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation Ioan Ungur was present.

Czech, Hungarian Legal Experts Discuss Dam

LD2109192189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Talks between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian international law experts have ended in Prague. The discussions concerned the international legal aspects of the building of the joint water barrage, Gabcikovo-Nagymaros. Dr. Otto Kunz, our delegation head, is interviewed by editor Vaclav Klement.

[Klement] What are the conclusions and recommendations of your 3-day talks?

[Kunz] The talks were very lengthy indeed. The two delegations briefed each other in detail on their viewpoints. The viewpoints are different. The Czechoslovak side, in harmony with the international law, is of the opinion that the 13 May 1989 decision of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is a unilateral act. That is, it is an act of suspension of the fulfilment of the agreement. The basic principle of international law is the principle that agreements must be fulfilled. The unilateral suspension of carrying out the stipulations of the agreement and, connected with this, the documents of the agreement, is considered, by our experts as a breach of the pledge also as to the schedule of the building of the water barrage. When talking with the Hungarian experts, we pointed to the generally acknowledged principles of the common international law that concern the responsibility of the state for infringement upon the international agreement pledges and for the duty to recover the damages thus caused. We also expressed the conviction that the agreement—and connected with this, the actual documents pertaining to the agreement and bilateral agreements that concern ecological questions—might take into consideration to a sufficient degree, the ecological aspects of the construction and running of the water barrage and might create sufficient basis for the mutually agreed and ecologically safe running of the water barrage. Among other things, we recalled the previously expressed willingness of the Czechoslovak side to open talks on the protection of the quality of the water in the Danube in connection with the operation of the water barrage.

[Klement] Comrade professor, in case of an alternative solution, could one talk about an infringement upon international law on our part?

[Kunz] This question has two aspects. First of all, it would depend on the progress of the Hungarian side as to whether or not the Czechoslovak side will be forced to make unilateral measures. The nature of these measures also depends on the progress of the Hungarian side. If this is the case, we will try to see that this solution may be technically suitable and economically suitable. In any case, we will strictly see to it that this solution is in harmony with international law.

'Rapid' Pace of Change in Hungary Viewed

AU2109163489 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 18 Sep 89 p 4

[Martin Komarek commentary: "Is It Possible To Prophesy? Impossible!; Hungary in the Maelstrom of Political Changes"]

[Text] The present complicated and, at the same time, rapid internal political development in Hungary has aroused the constant interest of the world's public. It is certain that the country faces further radical reforms whose material likeness, however, can only be gauged with difficulty. The main attention is focused on two closely associated problems: On development within the governing Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and on its future place in the political spectrum of a multi-party system.

This year the MSZMP has undergone profound changes and a new four-member leading organ has evolved. In this organ are R. Nyers, the party chairman; K. Grosz, its general secretary; M. Nemeth, the premier; and I. Poszgay, who is generally considered to be the most serious presidential candidate. However, no one will deny that this situation is provisional—the upcoming extraordinary congress will bring about decisive changes. Not long ago, the pre-congress forums of two important groups which represent the two main streams within the MSZMP, the reform circles and the F. Munich Society, were held. Some observers think that a bitter clash will take place between them at the congress, a clash mainly over the issue of the nature of future changes. The reform circles admonish members of the F. Munich Society for clinging to Stalinist traditions and they, in turn, are of the opinion that their opponents are succumbing to bourgeois ideas.

The congress will not have a pre-arranged program; this will unfold during its course. As A. Toth, chairman of the MSZMP Central Committee Commission For Party Policy, said to the MTI press agency, at the moment, it has not even been settled whether the congress will follow up on the previous MSZMP summit meetings or whether it will become the constituent congress of a left-wing party founded on the principles of social democracy. That the membership base is not satisfied with the party leadership's policy so far is borne out by the fact that, recently, on average, 10,000 party members were returning their membership cards each month.

Along with preparations for the congress, talks are taking place between the MSZMP and the opposition parties whose subject is, first and foremost, details of the arrangements for the approaching democratic elections which should be held next year. At the beginning of September, a draft agreement was reached that the elections will take place in two rounds and will respect the immediate support given to all the political forces. Despite this, the talks are extremely complicated. This is illustrated by the example of recent weeks when the head of the MSZMP delegation, I. Poszgay, submitted a

proposal to dissolve MSZMP primary organizations at workplaces, a proposal which the Central Committee, subsequently, did not accept.

The upcoming congress will, obviously, respond to the many questions concerning internal political development in Hungary, but the fateful decision on the MSZMP's future and its prospects in the elections, which are associated with this, depend, in particular, on its delegates. Other questions, which the whole of Hungarian society will have to answer, however, will, without a doubt, be urgently raised.

Obzina Views CSSR-USSR Economic Relations

LD2209085189 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Jaromir Obzina, the federal deputy premier, gave an interview to Czechoslovak television today on the results of his working visit to the Soviet Union.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Comrade deputy premier, what is the state of preparations for coordinating the national economic plans for cooperation between our countries for the next 5 years following your talks today?

[Obzina] In today's talks with Comrade Nikitin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, we wound up the first stage of coordinating the national economic plans for 1991-1995. In the field of basic raw materials and production materials, we can say that the issues have been agreed, and they satisfy both us and the Soviet Union. In the second stage which awaits us there are a number of serious problems which are not resolved, particularly in terms of mutual relations between the Czechoslovak and Soviet engineering industries, and of mutual supplies of consumer goods between the two countries. We have not yet managed to resolve these serious issues, and so we are faced with the task of finalizing this work by the end of this year.

[Correspondent] I believe, comrade deputy premier, that it cannot be said that our enterprises have lately been showing any kind of markedly great interest in developing cooperation with Soviet enterprises. One of the reasons often cited for this is our surplus and a certain discrepancy in the rate of exchange between the ruble and the Czechoslovak Crown. What do you think?

[Obzina] I can say that both these issues have been the subject of necessary talks. As far as the problem of direct relations is concerned, this does not stem from a lack of interest by Czechoslovak or Soviet enterprises. I believe that the opposite is the case—that not only is the goodwill there, but it is also being put into practice, and this is shown by the fact that we have 350 such direct agreements already concluded. What is at issue is their economic benefit, and this is low, because in production sharing this amounts to not quite one percent of our turnover, and the reason lies in the economic aspect, and this is because equivalent exchange has not been ensured, and that is because there is no realistic rate of exchange between the Crown and the Soviet Ruble. This issue was raised by us for discussion, and we will try to ensure that in the next few months an agrement will be reached on establishing a realistic rate both of the Crown against the Soviet Ruble and of the Crown against the convertible Ruble, which is the common unit of currency in the CEMA.

As far as our great trade surplus is concerned, this is caused primarily by the fact that there has been a substantial drop in the prices of oil and gas, which are the main commodities which the Soviet Union supplies to Czechoslovakia. This issue was resolved in principle in talks between the premiers, Comrade Ryzhkov and Comrade Adamec, by the fact that an agreement was concluded on a partial credit to overcome this problem, and in addition other ways are being sought of reducing Czechoslovakia's surplus by increasing appropriate deliveries of goods which we are interested in, especially engineering and consumer goods from the Soviet Union. However these are extraordinarily complicated issues which are not yet resolved today, and we will continue to work at them. [end recording]

Hajn-Led Delegation Returns from USSR

AU1909135689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Sep 89 p 2

["z"-signed report: "Return from the USSR"]

[Text] Prague—A delegation of the Communist Party of the Czechoslovak Central Control and Auditing Commission led by Jaroslav Hajn, its chairman, returned from a working visit to the Soviet Union on Friday [15 September].

Calfa Receives DPRK Sports Minister in Prague

AU2009073689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Marian Calfa, CSSR minister without portfolio, received Kim Yu-sun, DPRK minister of sports and chairman of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports Guidance, in Prague on Thursday [14 September]. They briefed each other on experiences with state management of physical education, sport, and paramilitary organizations, and made a positive assessment of the cooperation between the CSSR and the DPRK in this sector. Jindrich Polednik, chairman of the Czechoslovak Physical Education Association Central Committee, and Lieutenant General Jiri Brychta, chairman of the Svazarm [Czechoslovak Union For Cooperation With the Army] Central Committee, were present at the reception.

News Conference Provides Data on Foreign Trade

AU1809134989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 89 p 2

["jk"-signed report: "Only Quality Products Will Succeed; The Brno Fair and Foreign Trade"]

[Excerpts] Brno (from our correspondent)—[passage omitted] For the Czechoslovak national economy, successful export performance is the paramount condition of further economic growth. It will be primarily the technical standard, quality, and price of our products that will determine the volume of our exports to the keenly contested foreign markets. On 31 August this year, 49 organizations of foreign trade were registered in Czechoslovakia. In addition, in the last 2 years 360 enterprises obtained an authorization to engage in foreign commercial activity for a period in excess of 1 year. These enterprises include 31 enterprises with a foreign stake in their ownership and 17 other organizations, mostly international and foreign organizations, which are based in Czechoslovakia. The founding of further joint enterprises is in the preparatory stage.

This year's trade with socialist countries is to remain at the existing level, while exports to nonsocialist countries are to grow 1.2 percent. The results of the first half of the year testify to a favorable development and trends in foreign trade, particularly with nonsocialist states. In the first 7 months of this year, exports to these countries grew by more than 17 percent and imports by nearly 8 percent. [passage omitted]

These facts were revealed by Andrej Barcak, director of the Czechoslovak participation in the 31st Brno International Engineering Fair, at a news conference held in Brno on Wednesday [13 September]. [passage omitted]

Minister on Impact of New Mechanism on Agriculture

AU2009134689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Sep 89 p 2

["jj"-signed report: "Topical Questions"]

[Text] Bratislava—At a news conference in Bratislava yesterday, Julius Varga, minister of agriculture and food of the Slovak Socialist Republic, shared with journalists the initial experiences from the application of the new economic mechanism in the agriculture-food complex. He said that 8 months is too short a time for any definite conclusions because an important part of the agricultural year and the harvest of the majority of crops still lie ahead of us. Nonetheless, some partial results—such as the fact that in the first half of 1989 the department of agriculture and food made a profit of Kcs70 million, instead of a planned loss of Kcs2.3 billion—suggest that most agricultural and food industry enterprises have consistently embarked upon the path of intensification of production. The approach to lagging enterprises, a problem which had long been unresolved in Slovakia, is also new. There are now 56 so-called enterprises under special regime in Slovakia and 19 purposefully managed [ucelovo hospodariaci] enterprises operating under aggravated conditions. The ministry has abandoned the method of continuous subsidies, which was advantageous for many. Quite the reverse, if the managers of these enterprises fail to improve their performance, wage and other sanctions await them. The discussion also revolved around some topical problems such as supplies of fruit, vegetables, and potatoes, and the measures which the ministry has taken to come to terms with them.

Jakes Presents Award to Party Worker

LD1909230489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, presented in Prague today the Order of Victorious February to Vaclav Kuryl, member of the Party Central Control and Auditing Commission, employee of the Central Committee. The high state distinction was awarded to him by the president of the republic on the occasion of his 60th birthday for long years of dedicated work to the CPCZ and socialist society.

FRG Radio: Honecker To Resume Work 25 Sep

AU2209112289 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] It became known this morning that State Council Chairman Erich Honecker will resume work on Monday [25 September] following his illness.

Margot Honecker Receives PRC Official

AU2109125689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "GDR and PRC Intensify Cooperation in Education"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—At the conclusion of his visit to the GDR, Margot Honecker, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and education minister, received Zou Shiyan, vice minister of the PRC State Education Commission, for a friendly talk in Berlin on Monday [18 September].

Minister Honecker welcomed the visit by the Chinese guests as an expression of the close affinity between the two countries. Zou Shiyan stressed the PRC's close friendship with the GDR and, in this connection, he referred to the telegram from Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission at the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which expressed the feelings of fraternal friendship with the GDR people and the desire for close cooperation.

Zou Shiyan said his visit is proof of the steadily deepening relations between the two states in the field of public education, in particular in the wake of the mutual visits by the GDR education minister and He Dongchang, first vice minister of the PRC State Education Commission.

Both sides agreed that the building of the socialist society has established all preconditions for the demanding tasks in the education sector and for the development of the young people's skills, and that this social development places high demands on the education sector. Educating the adolescents in the spirit of socialism, peace, progress, patriotism, and proletarian internationalism is the guarantee for fruitful cooperation, to which every country can contribute its specific experiences. The ministers spoke in favor of continuing the tested common issues in intensifying the cooperation between the two fraternal countries in the field of education. The meeting was attended by Zhang Dake, PRC ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR.

During their stay in the GDR, the Chinese politicians specialized in education visited public education institutions in Berlin and in the bezirks of Leipzig and Dresden. The PRC guests were received for talks by Bodo Weidemann, state secretary for vocational training, and by Gerhard Engel, deputy minister of university and technical school matters.

U.S. Missile Inspectors Arrive in GDR

LD2109170689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1600 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A U.S. inspection group arrived in the GDR today. The total of 10 inspectors were received at Leipzig-Schkeuditz airport by representatives from the GDR ministry of Foreign Affairs, the GDR Ministry of National Defense and the Soviet Army. In one of the six former missile bases on GDR territory the U.S. inspectors are to check that the INF treaty is being adhered to.

The GDR will support this measure too in accordance with the trilateral agreement between the GDR, the USSR and the CSSR on inspections in connection with the INF treaty.

Daily Attacks FRG's 'Reckless' Behavior

AU2209075489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 3

[ADN article: "Trade in Human Beings—Facts Reveal the FRG's Reckless Dealing With Human Destiny and International Law"]

[Text] Berlin—By all sorts of methods such as promises, allurements, psychological pressure, and open enticement, GDR citizens are being induced to leave their homeland via third countries. This trade in human beings is accompanied by an unrestrained defamatory campaign against the GDR. All this is being done in disregard of GDR citizenship and with the assumption of a so-called "duty to take care of all Germans." The FRG's actions have been prepared with military precision and are carried out unscrupulously, as is the nature of capitalist society.

Trade in Human Beings With Diplomatic Passports

The preparations for the organized trade in human beings have been going on in the FRG's Budapest embassy for months. Already in May, Christian Much, head of the embassy's Consular Section, said that "refugee camps" would be set up in Hungary in July or August, from which it would be possible to leave for the FRG.

Numerous "specialists" appeared in the holiday resorts around Lake Balaton, who selectively approached young GDR citizens in particular, invited them for drinks in pubs, inspired them to illegally cross the border to Austria, and often lured them with the offer of "starting aid."

In mid-August, leaflets were dropped from a single-engine private plane over the camping site of Slendre/Esztergom near Budapest, in which GDR citizens were offered jobs in the FRG.

Information about a large-scale "opening of the border" to Austria and an action "to channel people" to the FRG appeared on cars with GDR license plates parked in camping sites. This action was started under the auspices of the Austrian successor to the throne manque, Christian Social Union [CSU] politician Otto von Habsburg, on 20 August within the scope of a so-called pan-European meeting near Sopron, for which the press, radio, and television, as well as special emissaries made nationwide propaganda days beforehand. The Vienna FRG Embassy organized buses to "take the refugees home," where they are immediately "taken care of" by Bonn. As the U.S. news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS said about this action: It was precisely prepared.

Earlier, the head of the FRG Embassy Consular Section, the above-mentioned Much, had advised GDR citizens to "occupy" the FRG Embassy in Budapest. He registered their names, dates of birth, and workplaces. The consul told them that, strictly speaking, the occupation of the embassy that he was recommending was punishable. However, this was the only way to force their exit, he said. The consul recommended others to try to break through the border of the Hungarian People's Republic illegally. Yet others were given "advice" to go underground in Budapest. STERN writes of the work of the human beings traders with diplomatic passports that the officials advised people first to go underground in the city and then come back to the embassy when they needed money. In addition, tips on how to escape are given. "Keep running when shots are fired," was one such recommendation, according to STERN. The guards are instructed only to shoot into the air, the officials were quoted as saying.

The FRG also violated international law outside its Budapest Embassy, on Hungarian territory. According to FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, the "holding camps" for GDR citizens were set up under the direction of West German officials and diplomats and other embassy staff were intensely active here.

In addition to calls to openly violate the border, a "second escape possibility" was created with the direct participation of the FRG Embassy. Its objective: "Putting together" all those GDR citizens who had been caught by the Hungarian authorities when they had tried to cross the border illegally, and were sent back into the interior of the country.

More and more frequently, FRG citizens appeared in the camps offering their services as "escape helpers." One such person asked DM7,000 for his "services," according to the Mainz daily ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG. The victim of this deal was supposed to sign an IOU to be payable in the FRG. In individual cases, a sort of agreement is concluded in which GDR citizens document by their signature that they intend to be smuggled to the West. The agreement guarantees to the smugglers a "smuggling sum" (head money). NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG speaks about "a new source of income for commercial smuggling organizations in the Hungarian border area."

Disguised as Maltese Helpers

In setting up the camps, the so-called Maltese Relief Organization into which the Bonn Embassy had channeled its people played a special part. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE: "All embassy staff members have become members of the Hungarian Maltese Charitable Service for DM25, and now give Germans from the GDR information in the back rooms of the Zugliget Catholic church." The Hamburg weekly DIE ZEIT: "The men and women who help the refugees here also wear the badge of the Maltese Charitable Service, but in reality they are German consular and embassy staff who in their leisure time play the role of Christian knights."

In Violation of Treaties—How FRG Citizens Are Made

With the headline "Bonn Distributes Passports in Budapest," DIE WELT confirmed the practices in connection with Bonn's "duty to take care of" GDR citizens, which violate all agreements concluded between the GDR and the FRG as well as the Helsinki Final Act.

In the Budapest camps, the procedure for "winning GDR citizens" was as follows:

—FRG Embassy staff members first ask them to present their GDR identity cards. A GDR citizen is instructed to act as group leader for 5 to 10 persons. Each group is given a serial number.

—Having completed the applications for FRG passports, the respective persons are instructed to have color passport photos taken and to hand them in soon. (There follows information about where in Budapest there are slot machines for passport photos.)

—The GDR citizens are told to address each other only by their first names. The group leader is instructed to "take care of" the persons entrusted to him, until the group is called via loudspeaker to attend a round of talks. The talks are conducted by staff members of the FRG Embassy in the Hungarian People's Republic.

—During interviews the embassy staff express the threatening warning that the application for and subsequent receipt of an FRG passport would lead to 2 years imprisonment in the GDR in the event of a person's return, if this fact were to be known there.

Particularly active in the camps are the official of the Bonn Foreign Ministry, Mulack, who appears as a representative of the "Order of St. John Accident Relief Service," and Counselor Krieghoff of the FRG Embassy in the Hungarian People's Republic.

All this is in striking contrast to the provisions of the Vienna Consular Convention that the GDR and the FRG have joined on an equal basis. In addition, Bonn's

diplomatic activities represent a gross violation of the Treaty on the Bases of Relations Between Both German States of 21 December 1972, in which both sides commit themselves in Article 6 to proceed from the principle "that the national sovereignty of either state is limited to its territory. They respect the independence of either state in its internal and foreign affairs."

Concerted Action Between the Federal Government and the Media

The role of the FRG media in the trade in human beings was specifically appreciated by government spokesman Klein in a statement made on behalf of the FRG Government. Even reasonable public voices in the FRG described the incessant barrage of radio and television stations and many newspapers as front-line journalism. They said that they even took an active part in the preparation and implementation of provocations. For instance, according to STERN, reporters of BILD and Munich Bayerischer Rundfunk were none too scrupulous in doing so. They promised GDR citizens that they would get an "escape helper" for them in return for an interview. When BILD reporters ran out of money, another sum of DM100,000 was forked out, and new stories were produced. This newspaper has reserved 45 beds for GDR citizens in the Budapest "Bartok Szallo" hotel.

"Day X" Under the Direction of the Interior Ministry And the Federal Border Police

In the FRG itself, the Federal Border Police South, led by high officials of the Interior Ministry, had formed a "special staff" for "day X," which in their own words were meeting "around the clock."

—Near Passau and Freilassing, a total of four tent camps with between 1,000 and 1,200 places each had been set up by the end of August. Instructions had been given by the Federal Interior Ministry and the Bavarian State Government, respectively. As government spokesman Klein said, the task was to "make contingency preparations."

—Quoting "well informed quarters" in Bonn, DPA reports that the Bundeswehr intends to make available at least 5,000 places in barracks in the south and in the north of the FRG. The agency adds that the Federal Border Police are also preparing to receive GDR citizens. "It is like an exercise in an emergency," a district chairman of the Bavarian Red Cross describes the situation.

—During a 3-hour coalition meeting on 29 August, in which Interior Minister Schaeuble, Minister in the Chancellor's Office Seiters, Finance Minister Waigel, CDU/CSU Bundestag floor leader Dregger, Economics Minister Haussmann, and others took part, Chancellor Kohl stated that a considerable stream of GDR "refugees" must be expected.

—Bonn kept silent about the precise date of "day X" up to the last minute. However, according to the (West) Berlin daily VOLKSBLATT, the politically responsible people knew "when it would begin." "Since then, preparations were under way in the Foreign Ministry. Genscher, who was still on convalescence leave, called his Budapest counterpart Horn and, several times, Hungarian Ambassador to Bonn Istvan Horvath about details of how to handle things." FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE wrote on 31 August that "it is striking that agreement between the FRG Interior Ministry and the Bavarian Social Affairs Ministry on setting up four tent camps was achieved shortly after the visit—which had first been kept secret—of Hungarian Minister President Nemeth and Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn to Bonn."

—The Federal Government continuously pushed the preparations for the systematic trade in human beings. In the tent camps the Federal Border Police took over supervision. The camp leadership includes a representative of the Federal Interior Ministry and an officer of the Federal Border Police.

—Meanwhile, special trains and buses were ordered for "day X." Bonn ordered 50 rail cars with 68 seats each from the Austrian Railways. They were supposed to pick up GDR citizens near the Hungarian border and take them to the FRG. Helmut Schwaiger, a spokesman for the Munich Federal Railways Directorate, says: The German railways are "ready" and can "react as required" within a few hours.

—In Red Cross camps in a number of Federal Laender, vehicles were feverishly loaded with tents, blankets, beds, and clothes. The destinations were the tent camps near Passau, Freilassing, and Bad Reichenhall.

—The Federal Interior Ministry gave instructions that the setting up of tent cities, including food dispensaries and sanitary facilities, must be concluded by Monday, 11 September.

—Bundeswehr barracks were also made available. In several cases, recruits were prematurely dismissed to make room.

—Hectographed paper was prepared to serve as gasoline vouchers. These gasoline vouchers, distributed by officials from buses of the Federal Border Police, could be redeemed at the next highway gasoline stations.

The militarily organized trade in human beings includes initial official registration in the FRG, interviews in the holding camps with the objective of obtaining intelligence information, and the principle that the people who were enticed away cannot settle wherever they want, but are distributed to individual Federal Laender according to a precisely defined code.

"Here Labor Is A Good"

What the "golden future" that has been promised those who have been enticed away really means is formulated in no uncertain terms by a leading member of the firm

Adia Interim, an ill-famed lease-labor company, who told GDR citizens: "Here in the West, labor is a good, and a good can be leased." The methods applied correspond with this. According to the U.S. news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS, such lease-labor firms that sell manpower on short notice and without social security for cutthroat wages consider people who are by no means familiar with such practices as their special prey. The Public Services and Transport Union (OeTV) points to the danger that the GDR citizens "are cheated by untrustworthy employers" and that "newcomers, many of whom have long professional experience, are fobbed off in the FRG with the pay of unskilled workers." The daily PASSAUER NEUE PRESSE says that physicians could "also be useful as truck drivers or bricklayers, if necessary."

No Hope of an Apartment at a Reasonable Rent

As soon as they arrived in the Bavarian holding camps, the people who were enticed away realized that no firm promises had been made regarding housing. Local politicians believe that in view of immensely increased rents, a shortage of roughly 1 million apartments, and the fact that this shortage is recklessly exploited by landlords and speculators, the chances of many newcomers to rent apartments at reasonable prices are extremely small. As a sort of welcome, the GDR citizens could read in PASSAUER NEUE PRESSE that in the three-river city, the same housing shortage exists as in other FRG cities. Passau has been waiting for years for a DM2.5 million government loan to construct only 18 publicly financed apartments.

In Hamburg, about 600 GDR citizens will at first live in more than 160 caravans which are also "tolerable" in winter, according to the social affairs authority. In Schleswig-Holstein, even barracks have been envisaged as housing. North-Rhine Westphalia's Social Affairs Minister Herrmann Heinemann said that the housing is "disastrous" and "partly unfit for human habitation."

People who lease housing containers are currently doing excellent business, the Hamburg weekly DER SPIEGEL reports, which says that a year ago, such a 17-square-meter living box in which up to three persons are crammed cost almost DM500 per month. Now the price has "substantially increased."

In addition to housing problems, there are difficulties in having the children taken care of: There is a current shortage of about 500,000 kindergarten places in the FRG. Then there are the expenses, because a place costs between DM260 and 600 per month.

Initial Euphoria Is Followed by Disappointment

After the initial euphoria, many GDR citizens sink into a valley of disappointment, says the Giessen psychologist Professor Christian Friedrich, who has interviewed more than 100 of them. "It is not so easy to start from scratch again. Euphoria is quickly gone, and the rosy picture of the FRG changes into a sad gray," says the scientist. "Social isolation, the anonymity of life, difficulty in coping with unusual everyday problems, the rejection by many people, tensions in the family, the turning away of relatives who have lived in the West for many years, reduction in social position owing to the non-recognition of examinations and qualifications, unemployment, housing problems, and trouble with the authorities are the most widespread causes of dissatisfaction with life" in the FRG. Above all, people from the socialist society have problems with living alongside one another. When they are in the FRG, "their isolation breeds homesickness." BRAUNSCHWEIGER ZEITUNG writes about a 20-year-old GDR citizen: "His expectations of life here are high. He wants to have a job, an apartment, a car, and he wants to see Paris. He is hardly aware that many who came here before him have been disappointed."

Once again, all the talk in the FRG about "humanity" and "human rights" has proved to be a lie and a hoax. Trade in human beings, which has been organized and planned by forces in the FRG with military precision, serves solely the revanchist policy that is aimed at restoring the "German Reich in the borders of 1937" and at revising the results of World War II and postwar developments. It is an attempt to discredit the 40-year work of socialist construction by the GDR citizens. This attempt will fail; however, the responsible political forces in the FRG have unmasked themselves to the whole world as those who massively jeopardize the process of detente and cooperation in Europe.

Commentary Questions Policy

LD2109194589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Commentary by Willi Piater]

[Text] In the Bonn apparatus of power there is a minister in the Federal Chancellery who is responsible for, as it is called, Germany policy. This Mr. Seiters is therefore regarded as the chief coordinator for a good deal of the bad things in the FRG policies, for examble the massive hate campaign against socialism on German soil—and just before the 40th anniversary of the GDR; for example for the trade in people being organized with military precision via Hungary and Austria which is meant to badly damage our republic economically; for example the advertising campaign in Western, but also in other countries, according to which a reunified Germany represents no danger in no respect, not for Poland and the USSR, as if two world wars had not emanated from this very, of late much-striven-for great Germany. Now this Mr. Seiters said to a newspaper that from today the federal government—and this is well-known to be virtually indentical to the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union, [CDU/CSU]—wishes to cooperate with the Social Democrats in Germany policy. Triumph comes with it, and that condescendingly they are coming late, but they are coming.

According to everything discernable from the Social Democratic Party [SPD] leadership just this week, Messrs. Vogel, Ehmke, and others have in fact almost totally swung to the position of the Bonn CDU in elementary questions of international policy. Their goals—this should be well-known generally, even if they try to conceal them with verbose peace declarations—are to take revenge for the total defeat of German imperialism in World War II and to correct the existing borders in a united—capitalist of course—Europe. A very dangerous position, for whoever puts into question the status quo in Europe also puts into question the security structure of our continent which was achieved with difficulty. Today's edition of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE also alarmingly reveals the psychosis that some people have worked themselves up into. In the lead article, the division of the continent is described word for word as a monstrosity, as a scandal, as the unacceptable result of World War II. This maybe does not fill the Social Democrats with the greatest concern in face of historical experiences, in the face of the suffering of their own comrades in the SS [word indistinct], in the concentration camps or the work camps of Daimler or IG Farben, or—and this is the reverse side—must the [word indistinct] feel it really as encouragement that Horst Ehmke recently stated word for word that it was bad if the process of European reunification were to fail because of the Germans. Or as Hans-Jochen Vogel described the day before yesterday quite openly to the press in Bonn, coupled with remarks against leading politicians in our country, that interference in the internal affairs of the GDR, the very infiltration of the socialist German state is the prime task of their own Germany policy.

A good many well-meaning Social Democrats will clutch their heads and ask: Why has there been this turnabout? Should one thus also write off what was resolved between the communists and the Social Democrats, between the SED and the SPD in almost a dozen consultations at high level, and which is of the greatest importance for European security? The draft for a corridor free of nuclear weapons, for example, or the project to eliminate chemical weapons, or the exchange of opinion on questions of environmmental protection. Two years ago the dialogue paper on the clash of ideologies and common security, which had previously been discussed for a long time, was published. Without doubt, a caesura in the decades-long aversion between the two so different parties of the workers' movement.

But is what was formulated in the document, that more security cannot be achieved if one works against each other, no longer valid? Is what was stressed at the express wish of the SPD basic values commission—the talk of the capacity for peace of the two systems, i.e the capitalist one too, and the sentence referring to the culture of disputes in dealings with each other—no longer valid? Is this all no longer valid? The Bonn WELT rejoices in today's edition that the joint paper with the SED of 1987 is only waste paper now and the SPD must now search for new partners for dialogue outside the SED. It is more than clear, however, and gives rise, not only by me, to the question as to whether leading SPD politicians wish to make bad policies in line with the Bonn CDU, or whether it is time to return to realistic positions, to peace- promoting dialogue.

'Baiting Campaign' Denounced

AU2109115289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Report by Rainer Bekeschus and Wolfgang Wenzel: "The Policy of the GDR Is Aimed at the Citizen and His Welfare"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—On Tuesday [19 September] the Political Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] met for a festive event in Berlin on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The main speech was given by Manfred Gerlach [LDPD chairman]. He assessed the GDR as the result of a profound social change, of the political, intellectual, and moral renewal of the people. Antifascist policy was and is predestined to be a democratic policy, he said, since it is based on the vital interests of all classes and strata, of all working people, of the workers as well as the peasants, intellectuals, craftsmen, and businessmen. The historical change consisted in the fact that the social forces, the workers class and its allies, assumed the political and economic power, people who do not know anything more important than the implementation of what other fighters for the progress of mankind proclaimed in the past: Liberty, equality, fraternity!

For 40 years the GDR's policy has been peace-loving, sensible, and predictable and aimed at the citizen and his welfare. The GDR was founded and exists as a worker-peasant power, he stressed. This is what gives it its meaning. It signifies the political hegemony of the workers class and its party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the inclusion of the LDPD and the other parties in government responsibility on the basis of alliance cooperation between different social forces. Since 1949 the Liberal Democrats have dedicated themselves to the development of socialist democracy, which is based on the power of the working people and on social ownership of important producer goods and which derives its power from the concurrence of the basic interests of all citizens.

Referring to topical issues, Manfred Gerlach discussed the anti-communist baiting campaign against the GDR. But what is going on in the GDR is our own business, he stated. Those who speak in the same way as politicians, ministers, and deputies in the FRG and who act like Bonn's official authorities sometimes do, presume to have an unacceptable right to represent all Germans, cast shadows on bilateral relations, and give rise to serious doubts about simultaneous statements that one adheres to the principles and rules of what has been agreed on in treaties between

the GDR and the FRG—which should be a matter of course in relations between sovereign states. Those who call into question—either from the political or legal point of view or in any other way—the borders of the postwar period, endanger peace, he stressed.

Looking back to 1939 in these autumn days, one realizes again that fascism was able to unleash World War II because it made European borders the plaything of its claims. The Liberal Democrats are very concerned about the fact that in the FRG ultra-rightism and neo-fascist parties can spread without hindrance.

Referring to the tasks in preparation for the 15th LDPD Congress, Manfred Gerlach stressed that our thoughts have been and remain directed at increasing participation in work. It is necessary to make an even more decisive contribution to the shaping of socialism in the colors of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Stassfurt-Lehrte Town Twinning Agreement Signed

AU2009135389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Town Twinning Agremeent Between Stassfurt and Lehrte"]

[Text] Stassfurt (ADN)—The town twinning agreement between Stassfurt (Magdeburg Bezirk) and Lehrte (Lower Saxony) was signed by Mayors Juergen Gizewski and Helmut Schmezko on Saturday [16 September]. After the initialling, both sides affirmed that they are guided by the principle of contributing to the preservation and safeguarding of peace in accordance with their local possiblities and to developing, cultivating, and expanding relations of peaceful coexistence.

The agreement is to be submitted to the two city assemblies for ratification in October and November respectively.

Stoph Meets Hungarian Environmental Official

LD2009034589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2044 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] [passage indistinct] GDR, Premier Willi Stoph and Chairman of the Committee for Protection of the Environment in the Bulgarian Council of Ministers Nikolay Dyulgerov today paid tribute to the [passage indistinct] manifold bilateral relations between the GDR and Bulgaria. [passage indistinct] GDR, Willi Stoph pointed to the close relationship between protection of the environment and the rational use of natural resources on the one hand, and the safeguarding of peace through arms limitation and disarmament on the other hand. Both interlocutors spoke in favor of a perceptible deepening of bilateral cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection. They stressed the urgent necessity of achieving further results for keeping the air clean, for protecting waters, and for minimizing and using waste products.

The Bulgarian guest gave information about the stage that preparations for the CSCE environmental protection meeting, due to take place from 16 October to 3 November 1989 in Sofia, had reached. Both sides emphasized the great importance of this meeting for the further strengthening of the process of detente and the cooperation between states in Europe with different social systems, and they reiterated the intention of their countries to contribute to the success of the meeting.

'New Forum' Application Rejected

LD2109195289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1745 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR interior minister states that an application to form a "new forum," signed by two people, was submitted, examined, and rejected. The goals and matters of concern expressed by those who applied are in contradiction with the GDR Constitution and represent a platform hostile to the state. The collection of signatures to support the establishment of the association was not been authorized and is, therefore, illegal. It is an attempt to deceive GDR citizens about the authors' true intentions!

Forum Plans Legal Action

LD2209095889 Hamburg DPA in German 0627 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Excerpts] (DPA)—The opposition association "New Forum" intends to have the GDR Interior Ministry's refusal to grant it legal permission tested in the courts. In a telephone conversation with Ralf Hirsch, who was expatriated from the GDR in 1988, Baerbel Bohley, co-founder of "New Forum," expressed her "outrage" over accusation of intentions contrary to the constitution.

The GDR "will go under if it ignores in this way these people who wish to express themselves and to change." In the present aggressive atmosphere prevailing in the GDR, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is to blame and will carry full responsibility if violence resulted from it, Frau Bohley believes. "If this continues, the GDR will be finished soon. A discussion outside all institutions, even outside the church, must be made possible. Otherwise we will continue to drive the people from the country. The desire for change in the GDR can no longer be suppressed."

In an interview with Deutschlandfunk, "New Forum" co-founder Rolf Henrich said he is "not surprised" that the application for registration was rejected. But he also said he is alarmed at the accusation that it is a "movement hostile to the state." That can only be established by a court in the GDR, "not the communist SED," the former SED-official stated. In his words the party is "about to fall apart."

The initiators of "New Forum," who had collected well in excess of 2,500 signatures by Thursday evening, intend to continue collecting signatures, according to information available in West Berlin, and to further

develop "New Forum" as a platform for discussion. It was said that new work structures will have to be sought if the GDR continues to prevent the legality of the association.

National Front Official on Alliance of Parties

LD2109201289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The alliance of parties and mass organizations in the GDR which arose from the bitter experiences of fascist dictatorship and which proved itself for 40 years will continue to be maintained and developed. In saying this the president of the National Front's National Council, Professor Lothar Kolditz, rejected speculations to the contrary. He calls this speculation part of the current campaign of hatred and slander by the FRG against the GDR and socialism.

The country's five parties (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Democratic Peasant Party of Germany, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, Christian Democratic Union, and the National-Democratic Party of Germany) and political mass organizations had faith in the popular movement, the National Front. Representatives of these organizations held a discussion today in Berlin at a colloquium for the anniversary of the GDR's founding on 4 decades of political cooperation in the alliance.

Kolditz said continuing trusting cooperation, as well as further developing and perfecting socialist democracy in all forms of society's life was and remains an elementary requirement for the country's political stability and economic dynamism as well as its social, intellectual, and cultural development. It is a matter of strengthening the alliance and drawing all citizens into the further fashioning of socialist society. [passage omitted]

CDU Members Call for Reform Proposals

AU2009094289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Sep 89

["Ws" report: "CDU Members in the GDR Call for Reform Proposals; an Open Letter from Four Church Associates; Appeal to the Bloc Party"]

[Text] Eisenach, 17 September—For the first time since the equalization of the bloc parties in the GDR, a call for independent political actions and "open discussion" has now been made by one of these "established, state-supporting parties." In an open letter from Weimar, the text of which was released at the annual session of the synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in Eisenach, four members of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], who are working full time or part time for the church, call on the members and executive committees of their party to "recognize realistically and without sugar-coating" the topical problems of the country, "to discuss them frankly, and to submit proposals on how they can be solved." Now all trends "to whitewash social problems or to brush them aside and make them taboo in order to justify idleness" have to be opposed. Among the signatories of the letter are Senior Church Councillor Kirchner, deputy chairman of the regional church council of the Thuringia Regional Church, and Church Councillor Mueller, press spokesman of the Thuringia Regional Church and editor in chief of the Evangelical weekly GLAUBE UND HEIMAT [Belief and Homeland].

In the view of the signatories, the CDU in the GDR has a very special function because of its history. The majority of its members expect that the party will now dare to make a new start and lives up more intensively to its social co-responsibility. The time is ripe. "The CDU can do more than so far it thought it could." Until now only the church has tried to openly find the reasons for the "emigration movement" and to eliminate or mitigate them. The church has been pushed into the role of substituting for the social forces actually responsible. Now it is necessary for the forces that are responsible for the shaping of the state to fulfill their due tasks purposefully and energetically. However, the CDU is particularly called upon to engage in independent political actions. A "change in stability" is now necessary in the GDR. Therefore, the change in the GDR cannot take place in the same way as in Hungary or Poland. But a fundamental change is necessary in order to preserve stability. If there are no reforms, socialism in the GDR has no chance, the authors of the letter said in Eisenach.

In detail, the CDU members, who expressly do not consider themselves to be an opposition group within the CDU but rely on the party statutes, demand that the political co-responsibility and the right to participate in discussion and in work of the party and its members achieve a new quality in three main fields: within the party, in the community with the other bloc parties, and in society as a whole. Within the party the will of the members must alone have priority. The principle of "democratic centralism" is not among the CDU's specific traditions. At all party events "the practice of discussion contributions that have been ordered in advance or even checked by the secretariats" must be abolished. CDU members must also always advocate a frank discussion at events of other organizations.

"Unconditional Transparency"

Smaller parties that are subordinate to the SED in the Democratic Bloc, such as the CDU, can enhance their standing mainly through proposals that they introduce into the social processes of formation of opinion and decision-making. In order to make members and the general public see and support such participation, "unconditional transparency and basic publicity for the deliberations in the bloc" must be insisted on. The extent of political co-responsibility also becomes clear with the extent of personal commitment. Therefore, the authors of the letter call for three to five ministers and an appropriate number of state secretaries for the CDU in

the GDR Government, in line with the composition of the People's Chamber. So far there is only one CDU minister.

The CDU has a duty to the entire society "to face the situation of our country as it really is," the letter continues, which also states that the main tasks are the promotion of public formation of opinion, respect for the responsible citizen, and the public discussion of economic problems and questions of travel.

"A media policy counts on brushing matters aside, keeping quiet about them, and whitewashing them, makes its own material concerns unconvincing, annoys the people, and opens up wide fields in the GDR's journalistic scene to the Western media," the CDU members write. Therefore, the CDU press in the GDR has to resolutely continue existing approaches to achieve a realistic reflection of the social conditions. The independence and autonomous responsibility of the editorial boards have to be strengthened. In the government, the CDU has to insist "that regulations on secrecy are re-examined in their entirety and are reduced to the necessary minimum." This applies, above all, to environmental pollution.

The authors of the letter harshly criticize the GDR's local elections in May. They call for respect for the responsible citizen and for an up-to-date election procedure, which "expresses the will of the voters unrestrictedly and credibly." The CDU members write: "We consider it completely impossible that the next elections to the People's Chamber and the bezirk assemblies will be carried out under the old conditions." The responsible citizen is also neglected if he is deprived of the opportunity to form his own opinion from the pros and cons of views in the conflicts of the day. Taking the Soviet magazine SPUTNIK off the mailing list for newspapers was done under the responsibility of the current CDU minister in the Council of Ministers. Figures from the arts and society have called this inappropriate, and this is also how it is considered by subscribers and readers. "We call on the Main Executive Committee (of the CDU) to exert influence on its minister so that the distribution of SPUTNIK becomes possible again in the GDR as of January 1990," the letter says.

Opportunities to travel are particularly valued by GDR citizens, the open letter continues. "The impression is to be avoided that the opportunities to travel granted to GDR citizens are concessions to foreign governments which are to be appropriately rewarded in political terms or can be withdrawn." Concerning economic questions, the letter says that reforms have to be pushed ahead much faster. The system of planning must not led to the bureaucratization of the economic processes.

The signatories of the open "letter from Weimar" hope that their letter, which is aimed at increasing the CDU's share of social responsibility in the GDR, will be published in the CDU newspapers. Publication in a church paper has already been announced. They cannot imagine that their letter will be suppressed by the party leadership, the signatories said in Eisenach. They will do everything they can to bring it to the attention of all CDU members in the GDR, they said.

Budapest on Return of GDR Refugees' Belongings

LD2109214189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Excerpt] [Presenter] The government has decided on the fate of belongings left behind by the GDR citizens who emigrated to the FRG. The deputy commander of the National Customs and Excise has reported on the details of the decision today. Jozsef Hidvegi reports;

[Begin recording] [Hidvegi] How does the government justify this decision, because this means that it has revised an earlier international agreement in which it has committed itself to return such belongings, as a motorcar, to the mother country?

[Deputy commander] The new decision is presumably in connection with the fact that the government respects guarantees in connection with ownership rights on an international level too, and it considered it justified that the owners should rightly be able to own their belongings left behind here—the cars, touring caravans, motorbikes and other belongings.

[Hidvegi] Are they going to come back from the FRG to collect these things?

[Deputy commander] Not, it is not probable. On the basis of the government's decision, we have asked the Hungarian Automobile Club to assess the demands and carry out the entire operation, with the help of similar foreign organizations—that is to give back the some 600 cars left here to their rightful owners. The Automobile Club is going to deal with the questions of this operation as of Monday, next week [25 September 1989]. [passage omitted] [end recording]

DPA Report

LD2109203689 Hamburg DPA in German 1954 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest (DPA)—Hungary has temporarily set aside another agreement with the GDR, and from Monday will make available the cars and other possessions left behind by GDR refugees emigrating to the West. This was announced this evening by the Hungarian customs and finance office in Budapest.

In accordance with an agreement with the GDR valid to date, around 200 cars were returned to the authorities in East Berlin. Budapest's latest step makes it possible to return 600 other cars left in Hungary by GDR refugees to their owners who are living in the Federal Republic or in Austria. The cars will be delivered via the Hungarian Motor Club; the owners will either have to report to the Austrian OEAMTC or the West German ADAC [car club] and prove that they are the car's owner.

As the announcement went on to say, the owners are to pay a fee equivalent to 70 to 100 marks each for guarding and storing the cars. Unclaimed cars will be sold after a certain time and the money will be put into an account after deducting expenses. The same procedure will be carried out with other possessions left behind in Hungary by GDR citizens.

Foreign Affairs Official on Tensions With Allies

LD1509095389 Budapest MTI in English 0636 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave an interview to "MAGYAR HIRLAP" and MTI, on the diplomatic note handed to the ambassador of the GDR in Hungary, in response to that of the GDR.

Concerning the issue that Hungary could also have applied the so-called "Berlin Formula," as claimed by the leadership of the GDR, Mr Kovacs said that the guarantees in the case of the Berlin formula have been provided by the person of the lawyer Wolfgang Vogel. (The "formula" applied in the case of those occupying the Embassy of the FRG in Berlin, resulted in the abandoning of the embassy building without being provided any guarantees for the favourable judgement of the resettlement applications.) However in the case of those East German citizens wishing to leave from Hungary, the question of Mr Vogel's intermediation was not even raised. Furthermore, while the embassy in Berlin was occupied by merely 116 persons, in Hungary there were over 10,000 citizens of the GDR, refusing to return to their homeland, expressing their intention to resettle. This huge number of cases made a Berlin-type settlement hopeless from the start.

In Mr Kovacs's opinion, the solution should be seeked at the source of the problem, but it does not lie in the policy of the Hungarian People's Republic, he said. Regarding international reaction, the general opinion is that the decision taken under pressure by Hungarian Government is in concordance with international norms and regulations on human rights, thereby proving the consistency of Hungarian politics, the commitment of the country's leadership in accomplishing the reform process.

It is publicly known that there is antagonism between Hungary and Romania, and recently relations with Czechoslovakia have also become tense, while now we have differences with the GDR as well. Could it not lead to the emergence of some sort of a "triangle" against Hungary? What measures does the Hungarian foreign policy take to prevent this, were some of the questions put to Mr Kovacs.

It is true that Hungary's relations with these countries have become tense. The causes behind them differ however, therefore it would be pointless to seek nonexistent connections, Mr Kovacs replied. I am also aware that compared to the situation of previous decades, the occasional sharp disputes between Hungary and its allies are unusual and call for concern. In the present circumstances however, I consider them to be natural on the whole, partly because there are substantial differences in our perception and practice regarding economic and

social development. It is my conviction that arguments thus arising should be tackled because we cannot refrain from any measures held to be important by us, in the light of a possible disagreement by one of our allies. Naturally we cannot, and must not instruct others, nor can we propose our solutions as a recipe. Yet it is also unacceptable to see others trying to do the same with Hungary. We should mutually strive to avoid the disruption of our relations by these differences—which Hungary does so from its part—the state secretary for foreign affairs said.

In conclusion Mr Kovacs said: There are further problems arising due to the conflicting interests on some bilateral issues. Neither does the solution of these cases lie in subjecting Hungary's interests to those of others in order to upkeep good relations. Our efforts are concentrated to pursuing ways to coordinate varying interests.

Horn Questioned on 'Axis' Against Hungary

AU2209103289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Sep pp 1, 2

[Unidentified correspondent's report: "Gyula Horn Answers Our Questions—Kondrashev Has Formulated an Unofficial Opinion"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], was the guest of a political forum held in Komarom on 16 September.

In his lecture he dealt, among other things, with Hungarian-Warsaw Pact relations and the Berlin, Prague, and Bucharest positions on the issue of GDR refugees. This political forum was an organic part of the MSZMP election campaign.

Asked whether he considered the creation of a Berlin-Prague-Bucharest axis against us to be realistic, Gyula Horn answered that, obviously, these capitals show the greatest reservation towards some of our steps, but Hungary will not deviate from the road it has chosen because of them. "I do not believe in such an axis"—Gyula Horn said—"and I consider these manifestations to be self-defense reflexes, coming from certain circles of the aforementioned countries.

[Question] Would you participate in a similar event organized by the opposition?

[Horn] With great pleasure.

[Question] What is your opinion of the Soviet commentaries in connection with the departure of GDR refugees from Hungary?

[Horn] Two different types of commentaries were issued. One was issued by Foreign Affairs spokesman, Gerasimov, who was not enthusiastic about the Hungarian step, and one cannot expect that either. At the same time, this is a civilized opinion which shows understanding in connection with our country's situation. I would make a difference as regards the opinion of the TASS commentator Kondrashev, who not only represents a tough position, and this would not be a problem, but also draws quite unjust conclusions. First of all, how can he decide from Moscow that Hungary also had another possibility of solving this problem? Second: If he draws a conclusion, why does he not also consider the arguments of the other side, the Hungarian side? Third: This is not the first time that Kondrashev has criticized us.

In connection with the events of 16 June, Gerasimov said that Kondrashev's commentary had nothing to do with the official position. In my view, the same applies in this case.

Barabas Leaves for Berlin Ideology Conference

LD2109214589 Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—Janos Barabas, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Political Executive Committee, secretary of the Central Committee left for Berlin on Wednesday. Mr Barabas is accompanied by Jozsef Csikos, deputy chief of division of the Central Committee. The Hungarian delegation is to attend the ideology conference of the secretaries of the socialist countries' communist and socialist parties, to be held in Berlin between September 21-22.

Foreign Policy Advisor on Isolation, Soviet Policy

LD1709105289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] According to one of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's [MSZMP] foreign political experts, there is no question of the formation of an anti-Hungarian bloc with the participation of certain socialist countries. However, it may be that in certain issues we will remain alone, perhaps isolated.

Gyula Thurmer, the MSZMP general secretary's foreign political advisor, at the same time told VASARNAPI HIREK [SUNDAY NEWS] that the Soviet Union is concerned that events in Hungary could become unpredictable, or that open conflict might evolve with its allies.

The politician emphasized that our country is also anxious about the sharpening of Soviet nationality and other problems, because these endanger perestroyka and the success of the Gorbachev line.

The MSZMP's foreign affairs expert is of the view that the USSR must not settle its problem with the socialist countries with old, outmoded solutions.

Defense Ministry Spokesman on Security Zone

LD1909124489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Hungary will bring the security zone on the Austrian and Yugoslav borders into being, even if the

two neighboring countries do not respond with similar steps. Defense Ministry spokesman Gyorgy Keleti told this to the Belgrade paper POLITIKA. He also said that they will withdraw two Soviet tank battalions from the Hungarian side of the 50-km-wide zone.

Government Regrets Iranian Cancellation of Visit

LD2109180589 Budapest MTI in English 1602 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Cairo, September 21 (MTI)—The IRNA Iranian News Agency reported on Thursday that the Tehran Government launched a protest against the restoration of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tehran cancelled, for an indefinite period, a visit by Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, scheduled for October.

The Tehran leadership has also cancelled the invitation of Ferenc Horvath, minister of industry. The Hungarian minister was to visit the 15th international fair in Tehran, opened recently.

IRNA reports that Hungarian Ambassador Zsigmond Kazmer was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tehran to be told that Iran sees the decision of the Hungarian Government to restore official relations with Israel as an 'an act of support to the Zionist regime and Israeli aggression, which could intensify tensions in the Middle East region.'

MTI received the following information from the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: The ministry felt sorry about the Iranian reaction. They stressed that Hungary would continue its endevours to develop good relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran, and pointed out that the honesty of the intention was also proved when Iran was in a predicament.

Horn Leaves for UN General Assembly Session

LD2109123489 Budapest MTI in English 0841 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—Thursday morning Foreign Minister Gyula Horn left for New York to head the Hungarian delegation to the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Grosz Receives Robert Maxwell 19 Sep

LD2009213989 Budapest MTI in English 1653 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, on Tuesday met with Robert Maxwell, president of the British Maxwell Communation.

MSZMP's Fejti Interviewed in Italy

PM2109145889 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 17 Sep 89 p 2

[Renzo Foa commentary: "Hungary's Courage"]

[Text] If it is possible to take stock so soon of the difficult East German refugees crisis, everything suggests to us that Hungary's image emerges profoundly strengthened from it, by virtue of the enhanced credibility of its reform process and the contribution that it has made to the assertion of certain universal human rights. This can be said, despite the tensions and controversies that eventually emerged in an Eastern Europe shaken by the struggle between renewal and conservation and despite the anxieties that have emerged almost everywhere at a time when the exodus from the GDR has touched on the still raw nerve of the German question. But the most striking thing is the combination of consistency, courage, and political strength with which the Budapest authorities have faced and resolved this challenge. This has been apparent, first and foremost, in its official documents and the decisions adopted. AT the L'UNITA festival in Genoa on Friday [15 September] I happened to gain a direct impression of this in a public interview with Gyorgy Fejti, who now seems to be one of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's [MSZMP] most prominent leaders, by virtue of the positions he holds (he is a member of the Secretariat and the Politburo and is also the head of his Party's delegation to the roundtable talks with the opposition, in which the forms and timetable of the new democratic course are being discussed.)

The tone and substance of Fejti's answers to the questions Federigo Argentieri and I put to him were striking. The tone, for its confidence—so direct, simple, and relaxed were his remarks when broaching such thorny issues as those that have arisen with the GDR and part of the Warsaw Pact alignment. But it was the substance that was most striking. I reminded him at the start of the interview of the remark attributed in Friday morning's newspapers to Ligachev, on a visit to East Berlin, in which the Soviet representative takes issue with the Hungarian authorities, accusing them of "violating peoples' rights." I asked him how he would have answered Ligachev if he had met with him privately. He replied immediately and clearly: "I would advise him to go to his German friends to deal with the causes behind this crisis and not to request administrative measures from us to make the refugees return to the GDR.." I do not believe that anyone was expecting such an explicit rejoinder, such a sharp controversy, not between Budapest and Berlin but—much more importantly—between Budapest and Moscow. However, I believe it is necessary to look beyond this remark, to consider how until recently it would have been unthinkable to hear it made publicly, and to try to appreciate the extent of the impact of democratization, how much it has helped to boost and to establish a sense of autonomy, independence, and observance of principles, thus burying the old relations, even as they affected matters of style.

I received a similar impression from another of Fejti's replies, when I asked him whether at the next MSZMP congress, in a few weeks' time, Karoly Grosz really is expected to resign from his post as party general secretary—a post that he has held only since last year, when he replaced Janos Kadar. That is, I asked him to disclose the possible decisions, following Grosz' own hints and the rumors of a leadership change. Fejti could have replied in many ways, if only with the argument that every congress is autonomous. Instead he said that, yes, Grosz will no longer be general secretary and that the post of general secretary will be abolished within the framework of a reform of the party leadership that envisages, instead, the strengthening of the other body, that is, the presidium, while the secretary will retain mainly executive functions. Here too it is perhaps necessary to go beyond the news—that is, beyond an announcement important by virtue of the authoritative nature of the source that made it—in order to grasp another another factor, namely, the speed with which the political dimension has taken hold of Hungary, introducing a method of openness that embraces everything.

I wanted to cite these two answers from Friday evening's interview. But there could be other equally significant ones. Such as that about the "optimism"—a word that the interviewee repeated several times—with which the MSZMP will contest the first pluralist elections with a view to winning them, albeit with the determination to respect the verdict of the ballot boxes in every way when it comes to forming the next government. Of course these assertions are nothing new, but they are important, having been repeated following the change in the Polish leadership and all the fears expressed in August about the possible negative consequences in other Eastern European countries of the initiative taken by Solidarity. So, to return to the original topic, we gained from Fejti's remarks the idea that Hungary's conduct in the refugees crisis has been not haphazard but, rather, a result of the thoroughness with which the internal renewal process has gone ahead and thus of its repercussions on international options as well. In other words, we have received another positive and reassuring sign of the renewal of socialism—one that has crossed the Hungarian borders with the GDR refugees.

Fejti Returns From L'UNITA Festival

LD2009043389 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—Member of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party Political Executive Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee Gyorgy Fejti returned from a visit to Italy, where he had been holding talks with leaders of the Italian Communist and Socialist Parties. Mr Fejti enquired about experiences relating to political and parliamentary elections as well as organisational matters.

Mr Fejti also attended one of the outstanding events of Italian home policy, the Genova festival of L'Unita, the newspaper of the Italian Communist Party.

Nemeth Sends Letter to Vatican's Casaroli

AU2009141589 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Sep 89 p 6

["Miklos Nemeth's Letter to Cardinal Agostino Casaroli"]

[Text] Your Eminence!

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the partial agreement between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican State, on behalf of the Hungarian Government, I convey my most sincere appreciation to you, and through you, to His Holiness Pope John Paul II.

On this epoch-making anniversary, my government concludes with satisfaction that a successful cooperation has developed between the Roman Catholic Church and the Hungarian state on the basis of the partial agreement signed on 15 September 1964. With joint efforts, we succeeded in solving many questions satisfactorily, questions that affect the state-church relations and which go beyond the framework of the aforementioned agreement. The experiences of the past 25 years proved that the agreement signed in 1964 was correct. The spirit of the 11th Vatican Council and the subsequent practice, as well as the strengthening of cooperation in Europe provided invaluable support for the development of our relations.

In your Eminence, we respect a statesman with a broad horizon who has been an initiator and supporter of the peoples' desire to cooperate and come close to each other; you also supported this desire in more difficult times.

There are deep social changes under way in Hungary today. The comprehensive reform process is aimed at creating a constitutional statehood in which we want to achieve a spiritual, moral, and cultural fulfillment of our citizens by asserting human rights, freedom of conscience and religion, and individual and collective interests. The Hungarian Government is working out guarantees for exercising these rights. In this spirit, our government is modernizing its church policy and is placing it on new foundations; the law on the freedom of conscience and religion currently under preparation is an organic part of this activity.

In the course of this renewal, a new dialogue has begun between the Catholic Church and the state, and between believers and nonbelievers. We abolished the obsolete laws that limited the activity of the church. We allowed the restoration of old religious orders and charity services, and the establishment of new ones.

We wish to cooperate with the Catholic Church and the religious people in the spirit of an alliance based on love, mutual respect, and understanding, tolerance, and mutual recognition of values, for a better future to benefit the entire society.

On 20 August this year, on Saint Stephen's day, it was again possible for representatives of the church and the state to celebrate together. We consider the procession

celebrating our state-founding king and the participation of some 200,000 people in this celebration to be a demonstration of the people's willingness to cooperate in creating values.

On this 25th anniversary, we think that domestic and foreign conditions are such that it has become appropriate for us to open a new era in our cooperation aimed at reaching common goals and serving common interests. The planned visit to Hungary by His Holiness Pope John Paul II in 1991 also shows this, a visit greatly expected by the Catholic believers within our borders and beyond, and by the entire Hungarian nation.

In view of the development so far in our relations, and guided by the desire to advance further on this path, on behalf of the Hungarian Government, I declare our intention to begin official negotiations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican State on regulating our diplomatic relations.

Counting on your constructive cooperation so far, I ask Your Excellency to convey the aforementioned desire of the Hungarian Government to His Holiness Pope John Paul II and personally contribute to the further development of our relations and the opening of official negotiations.

In the hope that this initiative of the Hungarian Government will meet with the understanding of the Apostolic See, I am ready to authorize an official negotiating delegation for this purpose.

Your Eminence, please accept my most sincere appreciation and good wishes.

Budapest, 5 September 1989.

Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

SFRY Daily Interviews Gyula Horn

AU1909140789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 89 p 1

[Interview with Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, by POLITIKA permanent correspondent Dragoslav Rancic—place and date of interview not given]

[Text] Budapest, 16 Sep—The Warsaw Pact should not deal with ideology, but coordinate military cooperation among the East European countries.

This statement, so far unique for Eastern Europe, was made by Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, in an interview given to POLITIKA. Horn has also said that the Hungarian border with Austria will remain open for East German refugees and that Budapest does not know how it could influence the solving of this problem without an inter-German agreement.

According to Horn, life has superseded some of the Hungarian bilateral agreements with its allies.

The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs also said that Vienna has reacted favorably to his country's proposal on creating a zone of confidence at its border with Yugoslavia and Austria.

[Rancic] Up until when will the Hungarian border with Austria remain open for East German refugees, and how can one find a long-term solution to this problem with the GDR?

[Horn] Several people have asked me this question, but I can not answer it with specifics. This is not because I have any tactics or have been hiding anything, but we simply do not know how things will develop. As long as we have such a large number of GDR citizens here, we do not know what to do. For the time being, we shall adhere to what has been decided. Regarding the solutions for the future, the two German states should sit down together and solve the problem.

[Rancic] Recently you said that some agreements you igned with allies in the past are harmful to Hungarian national interests. What kind of agreements did you mean?

[Horn] This is what is involved: The kind of agreements we have with our allies—I do not mean multilateral agreements within the Warsaw Pact, but bilateral agreements—contain obligations imposed on Hungary. The other side has no obligations; only Hungary has them. Such is the agreement with the GDR. It specifies what Hungarian authorities should do, but there is nothing about what the other side should do. The agreement was signed in the sixties and life has superseded it. It has been superseded because we have created some new European documents since then.

[Rancic] You are now proposing new multilateral agreements, too.

[Horn] Yes, both at the European and the UN level. By this I mean both political and civil law documents in which no country would have an advantage, that is, all sides will have obligations.

[Rancic] What do you think relations in the Warsaw Pact will look like in 1 year, taking into consideration the great changes in some of the member countries. Poland has a Catholic premier, you are introducing a multiparty system, and a process of ideological disintegration has spread over the entire East European military-political alliance.

[Horn] This is what I think about the problem: The Warsaw Pact should deal with its tasks and that is, above all, coordinate military cooperation. This has nothing to do with the fact that a member country has a Catholic or any other kind of premier. However, as long as one is a member of the Warsaw Pact, the very membership obliges him to belong to it.

Second, there are some foreign political topics on which we consult one another and which we coordinate within the Warsaw Pact, just as is done within NATO. These are

the proposals that a group of socialist countries submitted to the CSCE and which contain joint stances.

The Warsaw Pact should deal with something else. It should not deal with ideological issues, nor with the way the political situation is developing in individual member countries. It should not set up the kind of foreign political steps its individual members should take or the kind of steps toward integration they should take with the EEC or the West European world.

Finally, I would add that the way decisions are made within the Warsaw Pact has been greatly democratized since Gorbachev came to power. That was a great step forward and a major development.

[Rancic] You have seen Belgrade's reaction to the Hungarian proposal on creating a zone of confidence on the border with Yugoslavia and Austria. We do not know what Vienna's views are. Do you?

[Horn] We have not received anything official from Vienna, but I know that the proposal was received positively. We have been notified of this much. Now we have to undertake specific steps and coordinate and elaborate ideas.

Szuros Gives Statement Following U.S. Visit

LD2109223989 Budapest MTI in English 2018 GMT 21 Sep 89

["Szuros Returns from U.S. Visit-statement"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—Following his return, Matyas Szuros, speaker of the parliament, gave a statement to MTI, underlining that also in his envisaged new post as a provisional head of state, he intends to serve the cause of peaceful transition to democracy and multi-party system, the creation of a constitutional state and the safekeeping of the country's political and economic stability. The clashes between the parties should serve the furthering of the same process—with the country's leaders, including the new head of state with limited powers, will have to rise above party interests—Mr Szuros emphasized. (As reported earlier, the Monday plenary session of the trilateral political coordination discussions ended with the reaching of an agreement setting forth the resignation of the presidential council, in line with the amendment of the Constitution. The duties of the head of state will be temporarily assumed by the speaker of the parliament, until the election of the president of the republic.)

Mr Szuros also affirmed his earlier position that the so-called fundamental laws should be drawn up by parliament, because in their absence it is impossible to prepare for free democratic national elections along with the formation of a new parliament. Although the legitimacy and composition of the present parliament is being challenged, it is an undeniable fact that it is presently fulfilling an historical mission by way of laying the groundstones of democracy.

Regarding his own fate, Mr Szuros mentioned a number of opportunities ahead. One of them is that his constituents would like to see him taking the seat of their MP again. Besides this he was also elected as a delegate to the forthcoming party congress. In case he does not become an MP and neither does the party require his assistance, he is ready to return to his original vocation in diplomacy. Regarding the question that many would like to see Mr Szuros in the post of the president of the republic, he said that he respects the HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] decision to nominate Imre Pozsgay for this post. He will continue to maintain this view also in case he were to be nominated to the same post by others.

Nemeth Letter to Movement for Democratic Hungary

AU2209110189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Sep 89 p 3

["Miklos Nemeth's Letter to the Movement for A Democratic Hungary"]

[Text] Esteemed Compatriots!

We are living in times of crisis: A society forced into a sham unity for a long time has broken out of its forced condition and is now conducting self-organizing attempts toward a real social integration. This is not easy because it requires a revival of many values that withered away or were forced into the background, a proper political style, and new rules of coexistence. Our attempts at self-organization and national integration are made even more difficult by the fact that all this is taking place under the conditions of a deep economic and social crisis, and this provides an unfavorable climate for this complex process. Unfortunately, instead of calming down as expected by so many people, our political, social, and moral crisis has further deepened alarmingly in recent weeks. Impatient emotions and extremist manifestations are on the increase, and while verbally condemning such practice and efforts, certain political groups are trying to obtain monopoly on power. Crimes considered to belong to the past are gaining ground, like open discrimination among people according to their race, religion, and world outlook.

More than 1 year ago, Hungary reached an open crossroads. Perhaps these weeks and days will decide whether we are able to make use of this unparalleled historic chance to create a democratic constitutional state, or a series of conflicts will follow which will set our development back for an unpredictable time and will block our way leading to Europe and the world at large.

In this situation, I am glad to see the emergence of a political force committed to national cooperation and unity and which is fostering a peaceful transition. I am confident that, in the spirit of its founding declaration, the Movement for a Democratic Hungary will indeed be able to subordinate selfish interests to the interests of our

nation, of all of us, and it will not lose its way in the daily political struggles and will mobilize the honest members of our nation in order to find a peaceful way out of our difficult situation, a way that could unify our nation.

Your founding declaration mentions one of the most sensitive and alarming contradictions of these days: The political and social reorganization is changing the current power structure—a multiparty system to replace the one-party system, and a parliamentary government to replace a party state—and all this has an unfavorable effect on some people's fate and their financial and living conditions. What will happen to those who will lose and have to give their place to others? What guarantees can the changing society offer them? There can be no other guarantee but the universal human rights to life, freedom, expression of opinions, and the right of assembly. Everyone must share these rights equally, including those who represent a minority opinion. Only in this way can we allay the increasingly deepening fear of the consequences of this reorganization which has been increasing recently in people of various world outlook.

My government, which is trying with all its power to represent and defend the interests of our nation in the current confused conditions, not only supports but also demands national cooperation because, otherwise, the government will not be able to carry out its plan, and this could lead to catastrophe for Hungary. We need reconciliation and consensus instead of squabbling because, if we fail to settle our domestic affairs, we could easily lose the international sympathy and multilateral support which we have succeeded in gaining. Our becoming a real European nation is at stake, and this represents a historic challenge for us.

I hope that an increasing number of our compatriots will join this new movement which is now emerging and that the cooperation between the responsible forces of our nation will lead to a solution of our difficult historical task: the creation of a morally, economically strong Hungary, with strong welfare institutions, with a reconciled society, and capable of peacefully coexisting and cooperating with the peoples of surrounding and distant countries.

Budapest, 15 September 1989

With regards:

Premier Miklos Nemeth

Police Seize 28 kg of Heroin in Budapest

LD1909225589 Budapest MTI in English 1350 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—As reported, the drug squad of the Hungarian police discoverd 28 kilogrammes of heroin in a truck driven by a Turkish citizen in Budapest on September 14. The Tuesday press briefing of the Budapest police headquarters said that Hungary has long been a transit route in drug trafficking and a squad has been set up in Budapest to reveal consignments.

The heroin, tested at the Technical Institute of the National Police headquarters, is high-quality, 60 percent pure. This shows that the consignment would have been further diluted until the usual purity level of 30-40 percent. The world market price of heroin is some 60-80 dollars per gramme, and thus the seized quantity is worth 1,681,000 dollars (about 100 million forints).

Truck-driver Ali Ramazan, 37, denies all charges saying he had no knowledge of the special goods. He was contracted to deliver 20 tonnes of peanuts to Ulm, FRG.

It was the driver's first journey abroad and contrary to custom he was without a companion.

The driver is at present in custody and will be judged according to Hungarian laws. After the criminal procedure, the heroin will be destroyed according to international regulations probably in a pharmaceutical factory supervised by a special committee. The truck will become the property of the Hungarian State and the peanuts will be sold on the domestic market.

Secretary Mosbacher Continues Visit to Poland

Meets With Walesa in Gdansk

LD2109082889 Warsaw PAP in English
2235 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher today visited coastal Poland, holding a nearly hour-long meeting with Lech Walesa at the "Solidarnosc" headquarters in Gdansk. This is what both said following the meeting:

Lech Walesa: We above all spoke about economic matters. I encouraged (the American side) to cooperate, to set up joint ventures. I hope for results but they will come about after some time. I believe that. We discussed certain matters and this is conducive to better understand. I hope that everything which to date has been considered as a misunderstanding was removed.

Robert Mosbacher confirmed what Walesa said, saying he was pleased with the meeting. Mosbacher agreed that there was a need to act fast to do good business.

Solidarnosc chairman's press spokesman Piotr Nowina-Konopka told PAP that the specific talks particularly concerned the so-called Bush package. Secretary Mosbacher said that his delegation included representatives of about 50 companies who at the same time discuss details of the President's program.

The delegation which paid a visit to the chairman of Solidarnosc included William Bush who is one of the heads of a big agency insuring the foreign investments of Americans.

The press spokesman said: "This is extremely important. I think that this could significantly facilitate the decisions of American investors to place their capitals in Poland. The system of preferences is also concrete as it covers 4,100 products exempt from import tarrifs to the United States.

"The proposal, many a time expressed by Lech Walesa, of setting up bank branches in Poland, aroused big interest. This idea was understood and backed by Secretary Mosbacher.

"The American side also referred with understanding to what constitutes Poland's biggest obstacle: the vicious circle in which we are in. We are expected to curb inflation and only after that is financial assistance promised. It seems that the arguments which Walesa presented could probably convince the partners, the American capital that we need assistance in order to come to grips with inflation."

Following the talks, Mosbacher and the American businessmen accompanying him visited the "Szkuner" fishing company in Wladyslawowo to witness the signing of an agreement on cooperation between the company and foreign capital.

Signs Communique, Ends Visit

LD2109195789 Warsaw PAP in English
1550 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 21—The Polish visit by the U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher, prolonged by a few hours, ended today with signing a joint communique on general provisions of an agreement on economic activity between Poland and the U.S.

On behalf of the Polish side the communique was signed by Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki.

Robert Mosbacher and Marcin Swiecicki decided that Poland and the U.S. would start negotiations on a comprehensive agreement on economic activity as soon as possible.

The U.S. side will prepare a draft document for negotiations which are to cover, among other things, common obligations in the following fields: Protection of investment to be treated according to the most favoured status, national protection against expropriation, and guarantees of profit transfer. The obligations will also cover protection of patents.

Mutual obligations agreed upon in the communique do not probably cover all subjects and Poland may present new proposals.

This has been a declaration of intentions to jointly prepare an agreement between the two countries which will give U.S. firms guarantees on their investments in Poland. This is an encouragement to bringing in U.S. capital to Poland, Marcin Swiecicki told PAP.

GDR Refugees in Poland Under Church Care

LD2109173389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] The matter of the GDR citizens who want to emigrate to the FRG, who yesterday left the FRG Embassy in Warsaw, and who are in one of the environs of Warsaw, gives rise to much emotion. Wladyslaw (?Klatynski), deputy director of the Department of Press and Information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated to our reporter today: Poland is maintaining contacts with both sides and wants to play a kind of good will mission. Our authorities are trying to find a solution which on the one hand would suit the interested people and on the other would assure an efficient organizational—and in line with humanitarian principles—solution to the matter. Director (?Klatynski) let it be known that the refugees had been taken care of by one of the charitable organizations, which came under the authority of the church in Poland.

Warsaw Not To Return GDR Refugees to GDR

AU2109105389 Hamburg BILD in German 21 Sep 89 pp 1, 4

[Report by Wolfgang Kenntemich: "Thank You, Poland! Bridge for Flight of GDR Citizens"]

[Excerptt] Warsaw—A ray of hope for the GDR refugees in Poland: BILD has been told that the Polish head of government, Mazowiecki, has formally assured the FRG Government that the Polish authorities will generally not send back GDR refugees to the GDR. This also applies to those GDR refugees that are not staying on the premises of the FRG Embassy.

The new Polish practice is inconsistent with the valid bilateral extradition agreement between Poland and the GDR. Yet as regards the GDR the Warsaw government is now referring to the CSCE Final Document, which guarantees freedom of movement to all people in Europe. This document was also signed by the GDR. Diplomats in Warsaw told BILD that they regarded the Polish Government's concession as an "important step toward a humanitarian solution." A group of 16 GDR citizens who have been waiting outside the closed FRG Embassy looking for help have already been put up in a nearby monastery. [passage omitted]

Dumas Interviewed on Cooperation With Poland

AU2209093489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Sep 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with Roland Dumas, French foreign minister and chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers, by Wojciech Zielinski: "There Are Reasons For Satisfaction"—Warsaw, date not given]

[Text] [Zielinski] Minister, this is your third visit to Poland this year. Are you surprised by the speed of the changes in our country?

[Dumas] Yes, I think the changes really are fast. I was in Poland in April in order to prepare for President Mitterrand's visit, then I accompanied him here in June, and now I am here as chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers in order to sign the trade and economic cooperation agreement between the "twelve" and Poland. In the meantime, Poland has experienced the "roundtable," the parliamentary election, the presidential election, the formation of a government, an acceptance of the government's composition and program, and finally the culmination of talks with the EEC. All this has happened quickly and in a very short time, and I am pleased with that.

[Zielinski] You held talks with Polish politicians. What did you talk about?

[Dumas] First of all we discussed the agreement, how to implement it, and problems connected with it, and then we discussed Poland's future relations with the EEC, because, as you know, France is chairman of the community this year. We want to prepare ourselves well for the meeting toward the end of the month, which will discuss a program of aid for Poland.

We also discussed relations between France and Poland, and with President Jaruzelski I discussed some international problems, especially on the subject of Europe and East-West relations.

[Zielinski] In your interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA in April, you said that France wanted to act as a lawyer and spokesman on behalf of Poland vis-a-vis the EEC countries and highly industrialized nations. Are you happy with what has been achieved in this sphere so far?

[Dumas] Yes, there is reason for satisfaction, although the question is still open, and efforts in this sphere must be continued. I also briefed the Polish leaders on the French plan of aid for your country. As you can see, the formula I applied in April is still valid.

[Zielinski] France is chairman of the EEC during this half of the year. Which problems do you think should be solved first?

[Dumas] I am confident that relations with the European Commission will develop harmoniously. We will also support the Commission's organizational efforts to implement the program of aid for Poland, at the same time as which we will encourage the Western countries to set an example by supporting the Polish reforms.

[Zielinski] Minister, thank you for wanting to grant RZECZPOSPOLITA this brief interview, despite your very tight schedule.

Skubiszewski Receives Belgian Ministry Official

LD2109184989 Warsaw PAP in English 1312 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski received Holants van Loccke, political director in the Belgian Foreign Ministry, staying here in connection with political consultations between foreign ministries of Poland and Belgium.

The consultations brought comprehensive exchange of views on bilateral issues, first of all economic cooperation, and also disarmament, CSCE process, and East-West relations. Both sides showed readiness to intensify contacts and cooperation in all fields.

PZPR Leaders Comment on 15th CC Plenum

LD1809203789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The 15th plenum has started. Domestic and foreign journalists were met by Slawomir Wiatr, secretary of the Central Committee, 1 hour before the plenum began. He was asked about the date of the 11th congress and whether party ranks are shrinking. This second question was answered as follows:

[Begin Wiatr recording] A process of mass resignations is not taking place; some party cards are being handed in, but, in terms of numbers, this is a mariginal event. But I also cannot state that numbers are increasing. [laughter] [end recording]

Never before have plenum deliberations been watched by so many cameras and journalists; all the most important news agencies, television stations, and newspapers were represented. They commented that for the first time they found themselves in the room in which all the most important decisions were made in the last several dozen years.

[Begin Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR first secretary, recording] This is the beginning—maybe not of a new style of work—but we are starting from the assumption that our meeting, and what we are saying, is not secret and cannot be secret because the party acts in the view of the whole society. I therefore think that any limitations on the presence of the representatives of the mass media during this part of our meeting—let us call it the programmatic part—would be unjustified. [end recording]

The meeting was also observed by members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] parliamentary floor group, several dozen secretaries of the works' committee of important work enterprises, and representatives and leaders of the lateral structures which are being formed, or are already active, in the party.

The speech by Leszek Miller devoted much attention to the date of the 11th party congress. The party leadership thinks that the date should be decided by the whole party, hence the idea of the party poll, a kind of referendum. Its results will be presented to members of the Central Committee in 2 weeks' time, when the second part of the plenum will be held. Then, decisions will be made about when the congress will be held and how it is to be prepared. Much interest was also aroused by the Central Committee position on the program presented by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki:

[Begin Miller recording] The stance confirms, above all, the speech of Comrade Orzechowski in the plenary debate, when, on behalf of the parliamentary PZPR, he commented on the speech by Premier Mazowiecki, noting that the PZPR opinion has now been approved by the Central Committee. The philosophy of the content [as heard] contained in the stance of the Central Committee is the conviction that the interest of Poland is of the utmost importance, and before we ask about the party we must always ask about Poland first. Today this interest means the success of Mazowiecki's government, because what is most important is to improve the economic situation and the situation of all the Poles. As a party, we are declaring our significant participation in this process. Nevertheless, we are stating that we shall assess the efforts of the government not by the announcements or declarations but by the effects, the effects which are of interest to us from the point of view of the party program, for instance the method of realization of the principle of social justice, exploitation of man by man, range of privatization, all the elements which are inseparable from the ideals of socialism. We shall react every time, and act on the basis of these results and these processes. [end recording]

Miller Addresses PZPR Plenum 18 Sep

AU2209092789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Sep p 4

[Speech by Leszek Miller, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on 18 September]

[Text] In this conference hall we have often in the past remarked about the significant occasions that our meetings were taking place in. I believe that today it really is a momentous occasion. For the very first time in the 41-year old history of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], its Central Committee plenum is taking place in a situation where the party does not have a majority in the Sejm, or the government. We are in the minority. We are fully aware of the obligations that weighed upon the PZPR when it was the ruling party. However, we do not fully know what challenges and demands we shall be called upon to meet, as only one of the many political forces in our country. The following questions come to mind: What values and aims still remain fundamental for us, even after the change in our own situation? What changes must we implement within the party ranks so that we, as the force of the left, can demonstrate our ability to compete effectively for society's trust in the new climate of political pluralism? What fundamental political and constitutional changes are implied by the change at the helm of the ship of state, and what should be our response to these changes? Does the rank and file of our party fully realize the crucial nature of the present moment? Given the new conditions, what is the party's ability to undertake political action and internal consolidation? What do the terms "agreement" and "struggle" imply in the present situation? What does socialism actually mean today, and what in it is outdated, and what still remains young and attractive?

There are many more of these important questions to which answers have to be found. The importance of this matter was underlined by last Saturday's meeting of the Politburo and the presidium of the PZPR Deputies Club. Incorporating the results of that meeting into our eventual plan of action, we have to find answers that stem from our earlier commitments; commitments which were raised in the preceding plenary session of the Central Committee. Namely: Why did we decide to enter Mazowiecki's government? What is our relationship to this government? Where should we be seeking the strengths of the party? How can we best summarize the discussions to date, and what should be our next steps to prepare for the 11th PZPR congress?

We are still laboring under many of our past habits and customs. Some are positive and some are bad. Nevertheless, I believe that at least one of them is priceless. We have always put Poland first. Even before the state of the party, or its influence and significance. We always put Poland's strength and well-being first. I think that we can be proud of this. This philosophy also underlies our present actions. Thus, why did we decide to enter government?

First, in the present situation the primary object of any government is to overcome the crisis and improve the economic situation. These are aims of the highest priority. The nature of our party and its political character demand that we support such a program. Second, the formation of the government by Tadeusz Mazowiecki has undeniably released a successive wave of society's hope and optimism. Thus, it is clearly in Poland's best interests. In the face of this groundswell of opinion, the maxim: "the worse it gets, the better it will be for us" has to be alien to us and must be rejected by us. If we were to come out against these sentiments, if we were to behave in an irresponsible way, we would be threatened by a grave loss of contact with society and with a large number of our membership. Third, entering government we gain a measure of influence over the political structure and program of this government. In this way, although from a slightly different angle, our participation in the concept or idea of a government of "broad coalition," in other words a broad national consensus, is achieved.

The alternative to this was to remain in opposition. Why did we not chose this course? First, we would undoubtedly have been accused of not contesting the content of the political program, but haggling over ministerial portfolios. Second, every opposition draws strength from criticizing the government, and our criticisms of the present government, given the long period of time when we were in power, would be rejected by society as not worthy of belief. Third, the rejection of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's offer would have deprived the party of exercising any influence on the development of events and would have consigned it to the outer margins of political life. It would have meant an opposition role for a party that was simply not prepared for it. Now, the question of our relationship to Mazowiecki's government. I think that a sensible pointer here must come from the fact that we cannot judge this government purely by its declarations of intent and announcements. It has to be judged on the basis of real social facts. We wish it well, and we are ready to support it in its difficult mission, because it is our mutual government, a Polish Government, but we shall judge it on the facts and its social results.

The premier's statements are rather vague for us to form a precise position. That is why we have said: "Yes, but." This reservation means that our participation and support cannot mean an uncritical attitude to all it intends to do. Especially where the government's policies might threaten the position of hard working and honest people in the cities and rural areas; where the moves it makes might threaten the gains of socialism, and threaten society and the gains made by Polish civilization.

We must rapidly work out our position on the program presented by the premier where it relates to changes in property ownership, the extent of reprivatization, and the scope of industrial and agricultural restructuring. We must examine our relationship to workers self-management, communal property, and regional self-government.

I would like us all to ask ourselves about the sources of strength of our party, and bear in mind that if we try to strengthen these sources we shall at the same time be improving the party's image and authority. If these sources begin to weaken we shall without doubt begin to gravitate to the margins of this country's political life. I believe that every party unit and organization must undertake an examination of their particular strengths, and begin to reinforce and not weaken these sources. Our strength lies in what we call society's support. We must make continuing efforts to increase this support, to secure a better understanding of our intentions, and to fully explain all our political decisions.

The second source of our strength are our party cadres. We are not the party, as some would have us depicted, of mediocrities, idlers, plain careerists, and fair-weather friends who jumped onto the party bandwagon for this or that reason. We have many eminent people among our ranks. People who have enormous prestige. This is a most valuable commodity, not only for the party, but also for the country. Premier Mazowiecki's statement that competence and not party allegiance will be decisive is very encouraging for us.

In our search for the sources of our strength, we have to mention here our presence in the constitutional structures, namely, the PZPR Deputies Club, our councillors, and the participation of many of our members in various self-management bodies. Here, the most important question is the future relationship between the Central Committee and the Deputies Club. Without doubt the club is a great source of strength to us, and represents a future chance for our party. In the present situation, its role has greatly increased. It is the main instrument by which we can influence the life of the state. It falls upon each and every one of us to ensure that our deputies feel that they are solidly supported by their own party. Thus, we have to channel all the resources under our command to our deputies—information, analysis, technical and material aid, and the benefits that will come from the changes made to the party, not only in the Central Committee, but in the voivodships. The aid that we must give our deputies has to be substantially more than it has been in the past. Of course, the relationship is a two-way one. The club and its deputies are not exempted from bearing responsibility for the state of the party and the prospects for its future. They too must be quick to seize the opportunities to further the well-being of the party—and contribute to the changes and the discussions.

Fourth, another source of our strength is provided by our allies, namely, the trade unions, and the socialist youth organizations. We have information and signals which

show that at voivodship and district levels, the cooperation between ourselves and our old coalition allies has not ceased, and that the old relationships are still being continued. We believe this to be a most valuable phenomenon. We need further contacts with members of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party who have expressed a desire to continue cooperation within the framework of the old coalition. We must not burn our boats behind us. All these types of initiatives are only to be welcomed. The same comments apply to the trade union and socialist youth movements. We should not take offense at this or that statement. Instead, we have to look at what has been said and see whether there is some basis for such statements. We have to get the support and sympathy of such people. We also have to strive for much stronger links on all party levels.

Finally, the structure and organization of the PZPR, the aktivs, and the party apparatus. Without doubt in the last few days and possibly weeks, we have been witnessing mounting attacks on our party apparatus. Very often there is talk of an apparatus that ceased to exist a long time ago. Similarly, there is talk about a party that no longer exists. The transformations, the changes, are conveniently ignored. There is a conscious and deliberate attempt to portray the party and the party apparatus like it was in the 1950's, that is to say, a party closed to change and acting as a brake to the transformations. I think that we must undoubtedly make a successive qualitative breakthrough in the structure of the party apparatus. We must, above all, transform our apparatus on a much larger scale, in order to make it suitable for an advisory and analytical role, supportive of the needs of the PZPR Deputies Club and of the party at its grass roots. We need less orders or directives, and more support and help. Necessary actions in this direction have already been made, but I would also like to stress from this podium, that any attempt to denigrate the party apparatus in its entirety and weaken of its strength, is tantamount to undermining the party's force and lowering its authority.

Many questions have been asked about the upcoming party congress. The party is changing without waiting for the congress. The success of the congress will depend, above all, on what we succeed in doing in the meantime, and not on what we will do after the congress. Our main guidelines must be the following—the whole party must participate in the congress preparations, and everyone in the party must participate in the debates of the 11th PZPR Congress. At this stage, views and opinions vary considerably. Every point, issue, and matter that is linked to the debate leading up to the congress, as well as the congress itself, is the subject of opposing and different views. This also applies to the questions relating to the changes themselves; questions about our party base, or our party activity and structures.

We want to suggest a general poll of the party. If acceptable to the Central Committee, the Politburo would suggest using the results of this poll in order to sum up the discussion on the state of the party and the level of preparation for the congress. This may prove to be very valuable in rousing many basic party organizations from their torpor and endless procrastination. It may prove to be the impulse which will inject vitality into many party organs. The mere fact that this is what is in the offing, and the fact that the discussion on the future and the nature of the party, and the level of preparations for the congress, will take place simultaneously throughout the whole party, may prove to be the central impulse toward the road of revitalization.

Many questions are being asked about the party's future. In most cases these questions assume three contingencies. First, there is the scenario of continuation as we are. This means a shrinking power base and declining influence of the party. Second—a more radical scenario of the rebirth of a party of the left by the self- destruction of the Polish United Workers Party. This would inevitably be a road of great bitterness, high risk, and the annihilation of the base and the achievements of the party. Finally, the third scenario, is the one of fundamentally transforming the party. The result of this would be the creation of a new socialist party, arising out of the PZPR; a party that would be in alliance with other left-wing forces. It would not rise from the ashes of the PZPR, but being the natural transformation of the present party. The choice of the paths that lie before us is our decision. It is the party's decision, and it is the decision of the upcoming party congress.

PZPR Plenum 'Stance' on Supporting Government

AU2209111489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 89 p 2

["Stance on PZPR Participation in the Government" adopted at the 15th PZPR Central Plenum in Warsaw on 18 September]

[Text] The formation of a government that gives broad representation to the forces in parliament and involves the participation of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has created an opportunity to solve the mass of problems that our country faces and to continue with changes that will open the way to Poland's development.

The Central Committee affirms the stance of the PZPR Deputies Club, which was expressed by the chairman of the club in his statement at the meeting of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, with regard to the premier's speech.

Our participation in the government stems from the desire for constructive participation by the PZPR in accomplishing the tasks that face the state authorities in a spirit of shared responsibility for instituting essential reforms that meet the needs of working people and are in keeping with the Polish raison d'etat and the spirit of the "roundtable."

We will lend our support to the government in the moves that were announced by the premier and are aimed at improving the economic situation and in actions that

will lead to an efficient economy and a democratic state that abides by the rule of law.

We are resolutely in favor of the development of various forms of democracy. We will seek to promote employee self-management and professional, local, cooperative, and rural self-administration. We think that it is essential to preserve the positive achievements of social policy, those achievements that ensure equality of opportunity in starting out in life, especially with respect to access to education, culture, and health care, and guarantee a feeling of social security. We consider the conservation of the environment to be an important state task.

We affirm the stance that substantive criteria should be the predominant ones in the assessment of state personnel. We believe that highly qualified, efficient personnel should be assured a feeling of stability irrespective of their party affiliations.

We lend our support to the government in developing advantageous cooperation with countries in Europe and the rest of the world and in conscientiously discharging alliance obligations within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA and in everything that strengthens Poland's sovereignty, security, and international standing.

We will primarily assess government activity on the basis of the concrete results that the government produces. We are not renouncing our right to criticize and engage in constructive opposition when government decisions run counter to the goals described above and when they violate the interests, in a rational sense, of fundamental groups working in towns and in the countryside, and especially when they violate the principles of social justice and the dictates of Poland's raison d'etat. We are resolutely opposed to making those groups employed in the socialized economy shoulder all the costs of anti-crisis policies.

The Central Committee voices the party's desire to participate in further political and economic moves in accordance with the "roundtable" accords. We hope that all the forces that have decided to form or support this government will be guided by the same intentions.

The PZPR Central Committee.

18 September 1989, Warsaw.

15th Party Plenum 'Provides New Stimuli'

AU2109150189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Sep 89 p 4

[Untitled commentary by Andrzej Dzierzanowski]

[Text] The party is in an extraordinary situation. It has no majority in the Sejm, and no lead in the government. Members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] have not had much cause for satisfaction lately. Many have succumbed to apathy, powerlessness, and a reluctance to do anything. Some primary party bodies feel lost in the quite complicated reality. Some aktivs and members of the party apparatus fail to notice what is happening around them and try to continue to work in the style of the past, when everything was easy and convenient. Others are frustrated. Most, however, do not fall victim to such moods and are aware of what is happening, even though the ground is crumbling beneath their feet.

A party that exercised a leading role in the state for years, above the law, has ceased to exercise it. But this is in accordance with the party's will, for it is the party itself that initiated the renewal whose speed and dimensions have exceeded the imaginations of thousands of party members, and not just the rank and file.

Now power is no longer in the hands of the party. Now it is necessary to fight for a share in power. Now it is necessary to employ facts in order to attract the hearts and minds of people to the party program. In this situation, it is high time to do away with the party's organizational weakness, the shortcomings in work style and methods, and the excessive attachment to worn-out dogmas and symbols.

It is difficult to paint a uniform picture of the party today. It gathers people who are already flourishing in a new era. People who see a modern party of the Polish left wing, people who are not afraid of saying "B" before they have learned to pronounce "A." However, the party also gathers people who are attached to the ideologies of former eras. They find it difficult to understand that life has made rapid progress and requires new thinking and action.

The party leadership initiated the present profound changes in the country's political life. Now the 15th Plenum has provided new stimuli for equally profound changes in the party.

What kind of party is it to be? What will its shape be? What will be its ideological-programmatic line? The 11th Congress is supposed to answer all these questions. However, this line has to be formulated by every single party member and organization, for the path of changes will not be dictated from above. A statement by Central Committee secretary S. Wiatr at a press conference before the plenum was significant. Asked whether there would be any decisions about convening the 11th Congress, he answered no, such decisions would be made during the second part of the plenum [later in September], after the views of party members have been examined. This reminded me of the slogan employed by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in July 1981: "The party is us, its members." There is a clear return to this slogan today.

The way in which the congress is to be prepared is unprecedented. A general public opinion poll among party members has been announced. It is the party members who are to decide how the delegates to the congress will be chosen, and whether or not PZPR candidate members will have to take active part in the congress preparations.

Invitations to attend the 15th Plenum, with the right to vote, have been issued to the leadership of the PZPR Deputies Club, the first secretaries of several dozen of the country's largest party factory committees, members of political clubs and movements, and several dozens of young people who have said they want to join the party. It is suggested that the committee in charge of preparing the congress should also include aktivists who have displayed programmatic initiative recently, in other words people from these clubs and movements.

Everything indicates that the fate of the party is in the hands of its members. Therefore it is up to them as to what kind of party it will be, whether it will be capable of transforming itself into a party belonging to the entire Polish left wing, a party that matches Poland's modern needs and the times we live in.

Rakowski Attends Katowice PZPR Meeting

LD2109024289 Warsaw PAP in English 0115 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Katowice, Sept. 20—Representatives of party organizations and party activists from Katowice, southern Poland, held a working meeting here today to discuss the PUWP's [Polish United Workers Party] activities in the new socio-political reality in Poland following the elections to parliament and the formation of the new government.

The meeting was attended by PUWP CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to whom the participants in the meeting addressed dozens of questions and personal ideas on the role and program of the party as well as preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress. Responding to the questions and opinions, the first secretary stated: "The value of our party in the future will depend on whether someone wants to struggle himself without waiting for endorsement from the top. One must adjust to the conditions which we ourselves created. The breakthrough which has taken place will be conducive to us in the long-run."

Many of the leit motifs of the meeting in Katowice surfaced at a meeting of party activists at the "Kazimierz-Juliusz" coal mine in Sosnowiec held today and also attended by Rakowski. The discussion was however dominated by the situation which arose at the mine in recent days in connection with a campaign waged by the mine's Solidarnosc to evict the PUWP plant committee from the mine. On September 19, during a rally held by the crew, representatives of "Solidarnosc" told the plant PUWP committee members that they could not control the behaviour of a part of the crew gathered at the rally. In this situation, the leadership of the plant party organization left their offices which were then sealed by industrial guards.

The participants adopted a motion to issue a protest letter to the leadership of Solidarnosc against practices of this kind.

The CC first secretary briefed the gathering on drafts of setting up a political council gathering the leaders of all political parties and social movements which could be a form of solving such situations as that which surfaced in the mine in Sosnowiec. The presence of the party should be maintained in the workplace at least until the adoption of a law on political parties, the participants concluded.

The Press Bureau of Regional Executive Commission Solidarnosc of the Silesian region announced today that in connection with the referendum in the "Kazimierz-Juliusz" mine in Sosnowiec and activities aimed at removing the PUWP from the mine, the chairman of the commission, Alojzy Pietrzyk sent a telex to the mine's Solidarnosc reading: "In the wake of discussions, a view surfaced in the Presidium of the National Executive Commission that flaring up conflicts with the PUWP is neither purposeful nor necessary. The Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group tables a motion to amend the Polish Constitution, particularly as concerns item 3, introducing an entry about free association in political parties. This will permit to 'de-politicize' the workplace."

Jaruzelski 17 Sep Address to Surgeons Congress

AU2109121389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Sep p 2

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, at a Polish Surgeons Association Congress in Wawel Castle in Krakow on 17 September]

[Text] Thank you for the invitation. I am pleased to have the opportunity to meet so many outstanding representatives of world surgery here in one of Europe's finest castles and a place that all Poles love and are proud of.

I offer you my cordial greetings with the respect that the surgeon's profession and vocation deserves. I believe that the rich program of your work will enrich the achievements of world medical science.

This occasion, the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Polish Association of Surgeons, which has brought together so many guests from abroad, merits particular attention. It calls to mind the valuable, lasting, and sometimes pioneering achievements of the Polish natural and exact sciences.

Foreigners often perceive our history as a never-ending chain of wars and uprisings. It is indeed true that we had to fight long and hard to liberate the nation and to maintain and rebuild an independent state, but Polish history also includes a great number of scientific achievements that are not always sufficiently well known. I would like to remind you that Krakow was where Mikolaj Kopernik studied, and that this is where Olszewski and Wroblewski were the first to produce liquid oxygen, and this is where many achievements have been recorded in nuclear physics, geology, and the medical sciences.

The importance of medicine in the history of mankind extends beyond the realm of the natural sciences. Doctors frequently, almost daily, encounter problems of an ethical, philosophical, and social kind.

It is significant that it has been the Hippocratic oath and not the Code of Hammurabi that has survived so many centuries with its basic tenets intact. The oath's humanist message should serve as a guiding principles for every doctor, especially today, when the progress that has been in genetic engineering, the transplantation of organs, epidemiology, or biochemistry presents the medical community in today's world with entirely new problems.

I am not only expressing this view as a potential patient—indeed, the world is inhabited exclusively by your potential patients—but, first and foremost, as a member of a generation that remembers the odious pseudo-medical sciences of the Third Reich, as well as the great achievements of the medical sciences over the last few decades.

The 20th century is sometimes described as the "surgeons' century." The progress in the broad specialist field that you represent has been particularly rapid. The fusion of the latest technological achievements and increasingly profound and precise knowledge about man as a psychological and physical system has made it possible to perform operations that would have been considered science fiction until recently.

We are proud that Polish surgery, despite numerous difficulties, is keeping up with world scientific development and that it has significant achievements to its credit. I think that they will be described during the course of the congress.

Health, a sound body and mind, and the capacity for creativity in various fields are a gift bestowed on people at birth. However, the preservation and development of this is a question of progress in knowledge, culture, and the creation of appropriate socioeconomic conditions.

Surgeons have saved the lives of millions of people. They have restored the health of millions. However, it is difficult to calculate how many people have benefited from preventive measures, from what I would call "the philosophy of humanist surgery," which considers the scalpel a last resort rather than a basic instrument.

Polish scholars have subscribed to this view for a long time. I think that this principle not only applies to medicine. Prevention is better than intervention. At the same time, I wish every unavoidable surgical intervention success in saving people's lives and health.

The international community of physicians represents the noblest form of understanding in the service if mankind. Science really does "know no borders" in this field. This meeting provides the best proof of this, and may it also herald a healthier, better world.

PAP Notes Public Confidence in Jaruzelski

LD2109172389 Warsaw PAP in English 1251 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Fifty-nine per cent of respondents in a recent survey done by CBOS [Public Opinion Research Center] opinion polling centre answered "yes" when asked "Do you have confidence in President Jaruzelski?" 28 per cent said "no" and 13 had no crystallized opinion.

Over half of those polled (56 per cent) think Wojciech Jaruzelski will make a good president but 19 per cent believe otherwise and every fourth respondent could not tell.

Another question was if it is good, considering all circumstances, that Jaruzelski has become the president and the replies were the following: very good 16 per cent, rather good 47 per cent, rather bad 17 per cent, and very good 3 per cent. Seventeen percent had no opinion.

Premier Meets With NSZZ, OPZZ Officials

LD2109230389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, with Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz and Minister of Labor and Social Policy Jacek Kuron, had a meeting with the Presidium of the National Executive Commission [KKW] of NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity, and afterwards with the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord]. The draft changes in the Indexation Act were consulted on. During both meetings, Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz announced that the government's broad economic program would be presented at the beginning of October.

Opinion Poll on Mazowiecki Appointment

LD2009202589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Interview with Dr (Jerzy Gluszynski), secretary of the Public Opinion Research Center, by reporter Wanda Pawlowicz; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Pawlowicz] Usually after important events in each country there is a poll. The Public Opinion Research Center has certainly carried out research about the public reaction to the appointment of the new government.

[Gluszynski] Yes. Well, I would like to say that the head of government himself received an especially favorable reaction. Over 80 percent of adult Poles are satisfied with his appointment to the office of Premier. Only 2 percent are dissatisfied. There are 16 percent who don't know. Almost three-fourths of those polled are convinced that he will do well in his post of chairman of the Council of Ministers, and only slightly more than 4

percent have different opinions. A significant part of those polled, however, almost (?one-fourth) still reply that it is difficult to say. [passage omitted] The appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki as premier was assessed by society as especially appropriate. According to the majority of those polled, there simply weren't better candidates for this post. [passage omitted]

Gdansk Solidarity Citizens Committees Meet

LD2009102189 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] A meeting of Solidarity citizens' committees from Gdansk voivodship was held in Sopot yesterday. The participants in the meeting initiated a permanent form of cooperation called the "accord of Solidarity citizens" committees of Gdansk voivodship towns and parishes. The accord is open to everyone. Its aim is mutual assistance, exchange of experiences and information, and cooperation within the citizens' movement for the benefit of local self-government. The participants in the meeting adopted a statement, in which we read, among other things:

We want to be a supportive base for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government in our region and hope that this government will create optimum conditions for our activity to be effective and for our development.

'Brutal Accusations' Against ZSL Refuted

LD2209020889 Warsaw PAP in English 0128 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—The Press Bureau of the United Peasant Party [UPP] CC [Central Committee] presented the following statement of UPP CC chairman Dominik Ludwiczak to PAP: (excerpts)

The cause of reforms and mending the republic does not omit the countryside.

The peasant movement has always been rich in a diversity of mainstreams, thinking and concepts constituting its achievements. Its strength and political effectiveness also always depended on an ability and readiness to cooperate, on respect for different views and compromise in the name of the supreme good.

Meanwhile negative phenomena in the economic life of the country are mounting. We are going into hyperinflation with a totally empty market. This would be a situation ruining the countryside in the first place. One must effectively counter this threat.

Mutual grudges and disputes are not conducive to effective action. The countryside and farmers need a political peasant movement capable of speaking out for its rights, drawing its force from rich, 100-year traditions and particularly the sovereign activities of Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party, a movement also inspired by the social teachings of the church. One must therefore set about reconstructing it as soon as possible.

Among peasant movement ranks there is a place for everyone, for all organizations enjoying the support of peasants in the countryside. The United Peasant Party is one of them. One cannot blame the currently active members of the UPP for the mistakes and faults of 40 years ago. It is worthwhile remembering that for long years the UPP was the only possible plane for political action in favour of the countryside. Hence, the brutal accusations being repeated that the UPP is "a Stalinist being to fight against peasants" are offensively false.

There are no ready prescriptions for political renewal. One thing is sure. It must be based on grass-roots initiative, new ideas in villages and rural communities. It must take place in the countryside. And let it bear fruit as soon as possible in a congress of the political peasant movement at which delegates of all political mainstreams of the peasant movement would meet. No one can force anything upon anyone in this respect.

Disputed problems can be finally explained at a "peasant round table." Let us have enough will to reach agreement.

Proposed Constitutional Amendments Reported

AU2109122989 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Sep 89 p 1

[Ewa Milewicz report: "Constitutional Zeal"]

[Text] The Sejm marshal has just received two motions for constitutional amendments—one signed by 23 deputies from the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], and the other by 21 deputies from the Democratic Party [SD]. A third motion from the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] will be presented soon.

The PZPR Motion

In August a group of party deputies presented a motion suggesting that the clause "leading role of the party" be deleted. Now they have submitted an addition to their earlier motion. They suggest that political parties should be registered, and that the Constitutional Tribunal should decide whether or not to register them (at present, political parties are not subject to registration, a fact quoted by, for example, the Polish Socialist Party and Confederation for an Independent Poland in order to emphasize their legality).

The PZPR deputies suggest the following provision: "The Act determines the way in which parties are formed, registered, and financed." According to Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary, one should expect the Political Parties Act to reach the Sejm this week.

Apart from the leading role of the party, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] would also be deleted from the Constitution.

The SD Motion

It suggests replacing the term "working people" with the term "nation" in two articles of the Constitution (however, "working people" would be retained in a few neighboring articles).

The SD deputies suggest doing away with one of the objectives of the Polish People's Republic, namely: "The consolidation of public ownership as the chief basis of the country's economic strength and the nation's success." In addition, they call for compensation for property acquired by the state, insist that only the courts should decide on the issue of arrest warrants, and not the courts and the prosecutor's offices, as is the case at present; and demand the abolition of the duty resting on every Polish citizen to "be on guard against enemies of the nation."

The SD motion also calls for changing the name of the country to "Polish Republic." It suggests that the white eagle emblem should receive "a golden crown, golden beak, and golden talons."

However, the SD deputies fail to notice that they continue to use the term " Polish People's Republic" in their motion, and not "Polish Republic."

The OKP Motion

This suggests deleting the leading role of the party and PRON from the Constitution, abolishing the state monopoly on foreign trade, placing the people's councils under the control of the Sejm instead of the president, and adding a clause whereby citizens assemble in, among other things, political parties.

During a meeting of the PZPR Deputies Club, one of the speakers, supporting the motion for a constitutional amendment, said that if we do not amend the Constitution ourselves, the OKP will beat us to it.

So we are faced with a kind of competition, and hence this multiplicity of motions.

There is consensus that this Sejm is to be the authority that creates the new constitution. Work on the new constitution is bound to take some time. Right now, it is necessary to introduce into the constitution what is absolutely essential. However, the authors of the individual motions cannot agree about what is essential.

The Constitution, in other words the basic law, stems from 1952, and has been amended 16 times since then. The last time was this year.

Solidarity Paper Interviews Government Spokesman

AU2109121289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Sep 89 p 4

[Interview with Malgorzata Niezabitowska, new government spokesman, by Wlodzimierz Slowinski: "I Will Tell The Truth"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Slowinski] I will not congratulate you because I am not sure whether I should. I know that several journalists are seeking to interview you. You have agreed to talk to us in your own apartment.

[Niezabitowska] GAZETA WYBORCZA has absolute priority with me. After all, the people in it are my friends.

[Slowinski] How did it all happen?

[Niezabitowska] The invitation took me completely by surprise. I received it on Thursday evening, while I was cooking supper for my family. The mood at home was idyllic. The phone rang. Hello, I said merrily. Here is Ania Cislo, said the voice on the other end, and I knew that something important had happened.

[Slowinski] But did you not suspect anything beforehand? People knew.

[Niezabitowska] No, I did not. When the premier said he wanted to appoint a woman as government spokesman, shivers went down my spine. I thought to myself: Oh God, not me. But then came 3 weeks of total silence, and during this time you announced that Henryk Wozniakiowski had been made government spokesman. I must say I was pleased to hear that, because I think he is a wonderful person. I telephoned my friends and said: Listen, we have a government spokesman. But later this information was denied. Again came a period of silence, and the subject left my mind. So this time, when the news came, I was taken completely by surprise.

Anna Cislo told me to report to the premier immediately. I knew this was probably it.

[Slowinski] And?

[Niezabitowska] I must say this was a proposal that should not have been accepted and could not be rejected. It should not have been accepted because I realize my gross incompetence, and that I have had very little time to become competent. It should not have been accepted because I like to question people and then write about it, instead of being questioned by others and written about. Another reason is that my husband and I had wonderful job plans. We had just found a sponsor willing to pay for us to spend a few months in America so that we could finish our book. Last but not least, I am a very family-minded person, and now I will have to forsake my daughter, my father, who lives with us, and my husband. I feel very sad. They will be left on their own....

[Slowinski] As of Monday, you are the press spokesman of "our" government.

[Niezabitowska] Yes, as of 0900. At 1500 there is a meeting of the government, and I know I will not be home until 2400. It might be like that for the first few weeks, if not months.

[Slowinski] Why did you not refuse?

[Niezabitowska] I could not, because I thought that by doing so I would eliminate the very purpose of my life, and also because I value and respect Mr Mazowiecki very much, and I firmly believe we will succeed, even though hard times are ahead of us. We will succeed because, as Father Tischner said during "Solidarity's" first congress, I believe in the wisdom of this nation.

[Slowinski] Have you had any time to think about your work? What will your work style be like?

[Niezabitowska] There is not much I can say about a new work style and organization because when on Friday at the Office of the Council of Ministers Henryk Wozniak and I asked Jacek Abroziak, our ministerial boss, about such basic matters as the press office, what its scope is, what the people in it are like, what its structure and organization is, and so on, he said he knew nothing and asked us to wait until Monday.

I would like to make it clear that Henryk Wozniakowski is my deputy, but I would really like us to cooperate with each other closely and be partners. I would like Henryk to appear beside me at news conferences as much as possible.

[Slowinski] Did you also consider your relationship with the government whose spokesman you are?

[Niezabitowska] We certainly do not want to be the government's apologists. Instead, to use a French expression, we want to be the state's servants. Right now we think our product will be a very neutral, informative, and professional service, and not a kind of political mission or role like the one played by our predecessor.

[Slowinski] Yes, Mr Urban has left behind a certain tradition. Is there anything in it that is useful to you, or should everything be erased?

[Niezabitowska] I cannot answer that question because I never watched Mr Urban in action. I never saw a single one of his news conferences. I felt no need to do so.

[Slowinski] You don't even know what he looks like!?

[Niezabitowska] Of course I know what he looks like. I seldom watch television, but I did manage to see him a few times. Apart from that, I have seen many cartoon drawings of him, because he was after all very popular, even though this was a negative popularity. But he certainly aroused emotions. He was no doubt a kind of "policy maker" [preceding expression in English], in other words he took a very active part in the formation of politics, sometimes very effectively.

However, I prefer to play a role of service. Naturally, this role will be adapted to my personality. And that is a further part of the answer to your question about work style. Henryk and I quite simply want to remain as we are.

[Slowinski] Will there be weekly news conferences?

[Niezabitowska] Of course there will be some sort of news conferences, but we have not agreed on any details yet. In any case, this week we are still learning. But the premier does want to me appear in public next week.

[Slowinski] The premier attaches great importance to this post.

[Niezabitowska] One reason is because very hard times are in store for us. Difficult decisions are ahead. All this will have to be conveyed to the public and explained. He thinks I am suitable for this job. I have various doubts. Time will tell which of us is right. But I will make an effort, of course. I think everything needs proper preparation. If I prepare myself, I will acquire confidence. Right now I do not have this confidence, because I simply know nothing.

[Slowinski] Will you answer all questions?

[Niezabitowska] I cannot promise that, because not even this government knows the answers to every single question that is on our minds. But I can promise that when I answer, I will say the truth and nothing but the truth.

Government Economic Committee Meets 20 Sep

LD2109130389 Warsaw PAP in English
0102 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—A session of the Government Economic Committee was devoted today to preparing a detailed plan of action.

What should become the subject of our work refers, on the one hand, to the package of proposals of systemic changes. On the other, it must allow the making of ad hoc decisions to stabilize the economy already from today, Chairman of the government economic staff and Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz told the committee.

The package concerning institutional and systemic changes, ordered for preparation, includes the work on a modified concept of a state enterprise that should result in proposals to amend the Law on the State Enterprise, the Law on Bankruptcy, and in the concept of a different definition of the function of director and in proposals concerning the role of self-management.

The next set of questions covers, speaking in most general terms, changes in the welfare function of the state, including proposals of different principles of financing health service, education, science and the remaining areas, now entirely or partly financed from the budget funds.

An urgent topic, requiring proper preparation of proposals, is the road to reach the convertibility of the zloty and to define how to shape foreign trade in a more liberal way.

The session of the Government Economic Committee (KERM) also indicates that intensive work will be

started on new tax solutions concerning both the taxation of corporate bodies in 1990 and the reform of the system of personal taxes at a later date.

The KERM divided also the roles in the work on the preparations for proposals de-monopolizing the Polish economy and promoting the broadening of private sector.

The KERM intends to develop an overall and thorough concept of systemic changes still this year.

There is also a need for swift ad hoc decisions. The KERM session shows that one can expect them in the coming future as regards the following questions: increasing the interest rate on deposits and the real value of credits—mothballing some central investments—changing the currencies' rate and presenting a detailed programme to fight poverty.

The KERM preliminarily examined also draft amendments to the Law on Economic Planning, taking into account the directions of radical restructuring of the economic system.

Asked after the debates of the Government Economic Committee when society would be able to get acquainted with the substantial elements of the economic program and its social consequencies, chairman of the committee, Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz replied:

"I expect that working intensively and organizing this work well, we will be able to present the basic elements and internal logics of the economic program as well as its expected consequences at the beginning of next month. We will not conceal anything which determines the effectiveness of this program, including the burdens which we must shoulder."

Farmers' Presidium Crticizes Fuel Price Rise

LD2109114189 Warsaw PAP in English
2337 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—The Presidium of the Main Board of the National Union of Farmers and Farmers' circles and organizations today discussed results of the rise in the prices of liquid fuels as of today and issued a statement to this effect:

The Presidium of the Main Board of the National Union of Farmers says that the rise in the prices of liquid fuels was introduced without consulting the opinion of the Union of Farmers and Farmers' circles and organizations. We state violation thus of the right defined in the law of October 8, 1982 on the farmers' socio-professional organizations.

The Presidium of the Main Board of the National Union of Farmers demands that people making the decision to rise the prices of liquid fuels, particularly diesel oil, should explain to society that the rise will cause an increase in the costs of production of the agricultural produce and thus will bring about the rise in food retail prices.

Mexican Paper Interviews Ceausescu 16 Aug

AU2009120689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Sep 89 pp 1, 6

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview to Mexican Paper OVACIONES," in Bucharest 16 August]

[Text] As has been reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Carlos Estrada Lang, chief editor of the Mexican newspaper OVACIONES on 16 August, to whom he granted the following interview:

Question: Esteemed Mr President, we learned with interest about your announcement that Romania has completely paid off its foreign debt. Since this problem is highly topical in my country, we would be grateful if you told us how you were able to achieve this great victory and how this will influence your country's future development.

Answer: To better understand how Romania was able to fully pay off its foreign debt at the beginning of this year, I will very briefly describe Romania's situation in general.

This year, on 23 August, the Romanian people celebrated the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and antiimperialist revolution for social and national liberation that eliminated for good the imperialist domination and paved the way for great socioeconomic changes and for socialist construction in Romania.

In 1944 Romania was a poorly developed country. Today it is a developed industrial-agrarian country. In that timespan industry increased 135-fold, agricultural output 10-fold, and the national revenue 40-fold.

An important role in these achievements was played by the Ninth RCP Congress of 1965, which put an end to cliches, kowtowing, and the so-called "unique pattern" of socialist construction. The ninth congress restored our people's sense of independence and dignity, and paved the way for socialist construction in accordance with the specific conditions in Romania. I am mentioning all this in order to stress that without vigorous socioeconomic development we would not have been able to pay off our foreign debts!

In 1980 we decided to eliminate our foreign debt in the belief that it hampers socioeconomic development and the improvement of our people's standard of living.

As a matter of fact, it is well known that there were times when interest rates rose—at a general level—to more than 20 percent! This explains why the foreign debts of developing countries today exceed $1,300 billion! In 1980 Romania's foreign debt was more than $11 billion; however, in view of the excessively high interest rates, we have actually paid in excess of $17 billion, which means almost twice the sum of money we owed.

Initially we appealed, like other countries, to the IMF, which came up with its own program. We were asked to take measures leading to the devaluation of our national currency and increased inflation, and measures that would actually bring about the disorganization of our own economy. At the beginning, we accepted this program; however, a few months later we realized that we should not follow this road. We canceled that agreement unilaterally and worked out measures which we thought were necessary to develop our national economy and to create conditions for the complete repayment of our foreign debt.

I have to mention that during this period we continued to allocate important funds—more than 30 percent of the national revenue! —for our country's socioeconomic development. In the current 10-year period we have actually invested more than 2,000 billion lei, that is an equivalent of some $200 billion. This made it possible for us to vigorously develop the economic activity, to implement a comprehensive program for the construction of housing, sociocultural and other establishments, and to improve our country's level of development in general.

Question: Without inflation?

Answer: Without inflation! What is more, in that period the working people's standard of living did not deteriorate by any means, but, on the contrary, their pay was increased twice! The latest increase was on 1 August this year. Likewise, during the period in which we paid off our foreign debts we also increased pensions and state-subsidized social expenditures, which have increased by some 35 percent.

Thus, we can say that in this period we focused on developing the forces of production, science, culture, and education, and on improving our people's standard of living. In this way we were able to pay off our foreign debt. Without measures aimed at our country's development in general, we would not have been able to achieve this!

Based on what we have achieved and on Romania's progress in general, we have worked out program-directives for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and up to the year 2000 regarding our country's socioeconomic development. What do we propose to achieve? Our aim is to continue to develop the national economy in general by focusing on the intensive development and modernization of all sectors and on the firm application of science and technology in all areas.

By the year 2000 we want Romania to be a comprehensively developed socialist country in all areas with a vigorous economy, a high standard of living, and an advanced level of science and culture. As a matter of fact, beginning with next year, we will introduce the compulsory 12-grade education system for all young people and we will broadly develop higher education in accordance with our needs. We believe that, without a high level of culture and science, we will not be able to ensure the construction of a progressive society!

These are the targets of Romania's future development. It goes without saying that within this framework we

plan to broadly develop international economic relations, expand production sharing with various countries, and contribute to the achievement of economic projects in cooperation with various states, particularly with the developing countries.

Question: Have your exports increased of late?

Answer: On the whole we have recorded an increase, not a great one; however, our exports have constantly marked a level that permitted us to ensure the necessary means for imports for both the development of the economy and for the payment of our foreign debt. This actually made it possible for Romania to have an active balance of more than $2.5 billion.

As is known, Romania has decided not to resort to credits any more. However, what we want to do in our relations with other states is to grant—if there is a request—credits to some countries for their economic development.

These are the targets we have set for the future.

Question: We congratulate you on all these successes Mr President! Please permit us to address you, the statesman who has made and continues to make the greatest efforts to achieve disarmament. What are the real prospects of this process and what do small and medium-sized countries have to do to achieve this goal?

Answer: Indeed, Romania has always advocated the cessation of the arms race and general disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. We believe that at this time all states should focus on the struggle for disarmament, on the total elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, and on a radical reduction of the so-called conventional weapons.

What I want to emphasize is the fact that Romania has not only worked toward disarmament, but has also moved to a unilateral reduction of weapons and military expenditure. At this time, compared to the other European countries, Romania has the lowest per-capita expenditure for military purposes and, on the whole, our future aim is not to allocate more than 3 percent of the national revenue for military purposes. As a matter of fact, I have to tell you that had we not reduced military expenditure we would not have been able to pay any debt, nor would we have been able to implement our development programs.

At this point, we believe that the small and medium-sized countries, and the nonaligned countries have to participate much more actively in disarmament negotiations and actions. The problems of disarmament cannot be solved by two or a few countries alone. It is necessary for all countries to take an active part in and work toward achieving disarmament. We believe that there are prospects for achieving further important steps in this direction—although such forces exist, there are countries that wish to continue the nuclear arms race and the so-called policy of "nuclear deterrence."

We must make great efforts, in complete unity with all peoples, to bring about a renunciation of this policy and a new policy that will meet the interests of all world nations.

Question: The restructuring process that has taken place in the USSR and some of the socialist countries is being followed with interest in Mexico. Knowing that Romania already has great achievements in this area, what are your further plans in this respect?

Answer: Romania, especially in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965, firmly advocates the construction of socialism by proceeding from the specific conditions of each country, by applying the general laws and principles of scientific socialism to the conditions in each country, by renouncing cliches, "unique models," and other forms of constraint. At that time we adopted measures to organize our activity on the basis of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing.

We have created a new economic system and new forms of democratic management of the economy by introducing in all sectors the working people's councils as management bodies within which the workers' representatives make up at least 30 percent. Certainly, in agriculture the farmers hold the majority in these councils, while in scientific institutions and in education the majority is held by intellectuals. They are uniform bodies managing activities and responsible toward the general meetings of the working people—as owners and producers—in all areas. Undoubtedly, these bodies are also responsible toward the higher bodies, they are responsible for protecting the socialist ownership of the whole people or cooperative ownership, and for the fulfillment of the general targets aimed at our country's development.

As a matter of fact, we have also created democratic management bodies at the national level. Congresses of the working people and of the peasantry are taking place every 5 years and each of them is attended by 11,000 participants. Then there is the congress of science and instruction with 7,000 delegates in attendance, and the congress of culture and education with 5,000-6,000 delegates in attendance. All these congresses elect national councils which work in the interval between congresses. Just a few days ago the session of the National Council of Agriculture took place, attended by 5,000 delegates who discussed problems and prospects of agriculture. The session of the National Council of Working People also took place in July.

Thus, the basic problems are discussed with all working people, with the whole nation through the application of the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people!

Bearing all this in mind, we view the concerns in the Soviet Union and in other countries as the domestic problems of those countries, whose aim is to perfect activities in each country.

I must tell you that we are concerned about the fact that in certain countries some of the achievements of socialist construction are denied and that there is talk about paving the way for a return to capitalist forms in the economy. Certainly, we are for improving the management system of the socialist society and for broadening democracy; however, we believe that they must ensure progress and not a return to capitalism!

Our concern of today is to consolidate what we have achieved, to perfect the democratic management forms, and to create—in all areas—the best of conditions for the participation of our people in the leadership of society. However, we are also concerned with strengthening the forms of the socialist ownership of the whole people or of cooperative ownership, and with perfecting the forms of socialist distribution by ensuring full equality of rights and a balance between high and low wages. We are convinced that only in this way will we be able to ensure genuine social justice, which certainly does not mean absolute equality, but which means a balanced and equitable distribution of incomes, so that no one may live without work. We do not want to have poor people, but we do not want "rich" ones either, people who live at the expense of other people's labor! In accordance with the development of our society, we want all our people to enjoy the best living standard and we want them to decide on their development road by themselves!

I have mentioned all this in order to emphasize that our people's spirit is good, because they realize that everything we have proposed to achieve is being achieved every single year! Certainly, there have been shortfalls and difficulties. One cannot say that everything went smoothly; however, we have constantly progressed!

Question: Mr President, humanity is confronted by serious economic and social problems. In your opinion, what are the solutions and prospects to solve those problems?

Answer: Indeed, the world economic situation is very serious. At the same time, numerous social and political problems, as well as the whole world situation have become more serious.

All this is the result of the continuation by the rich countries of the outdated imperialist policy of inequality and oppression of the developing countries, and the result of the inequitable international monetary policy.

The serious situation of the developing countries is known, as is the fact that their debt doubled in the past 10-year period making them even poorer. Tens of billions of dollars have been accumulated by the developed countries from these countries!

At the same time, the number of the poor has increased, even in the developed countries, and riches are concentrated in the hands of a smaller number of rich people who have become even richer. Unemployment has increased. It is known that in the developed countries themselves every year 20-30 percent of the young people have no secure jobs. Young people are unable to attend education. As a matter of fact, even official statistics in these countries show that illiteracy has increased, as has the number of homeless people, of the poor in general, and this has led to social decline, increased drug abuse, and increased criminality.

All this creates specific social problems. It goes without saying that this situation cannot continue for a long time! Humanity, especially the developing countries, and of course the poor in the developed countries will not tolerate this situation for much longer.

Question: So, what has to be done in this situation, Mister President?

Answer: As a matter of fact, people should never forget that changing this situation depends on them. A hundred years ago we had a great poet who, addressing the workers, said: "Why do you forget that you represent number as well as power?" If you want—said the poet clearly—you can easily change the world! Therefore, it is necessary to consolidate cooperation and solidarity among developing countries, and action should be taken to change this situation.

We advocate an international conference, with the participation of both developing countries and developed countries, and within this conference the necessary agreements should be reached on issues of underdevelopment and on finding solutions to the developing countries' foreign debts, starting from the cancellation of a considerable part of those debts.

Question: Are you referring to a world conference of the heads of state?

Answer: Yes, within the United Nations framework. As a matter of fact, developing countries—through the "Group of 77"—have already suggested this. Likewise, recently, during the Paris meeting of the heads of state of the seven rich countries, a group of developing countries suggested that an agreement should be reached on organizing such a conference. As is known, the seven leaders of rich countries did not consider such a proposal. As a matter of fact, they did not pay proper attention to the basic issues of the world economy or to the problems of developing countries, either.

Certainly, these problems are serious! They cannot be solved by the seven heads of state, no matter how rich the respective countries are! Therefore, we advocate an international conference, under the aegis of the United Nations, which should discuss all the problems, find solutions that are acceptable for all the concerned sides, and establish new principles for international economic relations, principles that facilitate the more rapid development of developing countries and, at the same time, ensure the stability and development of all other countries as well. We do not advocate the progress of developing countries to the detriment of developed countries! However, we advocate a more marked balance and development of developing countries, which can create

proper conditions for the overall development and ensure economic stability and a normal pace of general progress.

Question: Mister President, don't you think that, for the time being, we lack the necessary solidarity to achieve this important target of mankind that you have expressed with such scientific clarity?

Answer: As I have already mentioned, if developed countries do not understand in time, then the developing countries will have no other choice than to act in complete unity and refuse to accept this situation, the state of poor countries! They have the necessary power and can do this, also from an economic point of view.

We advocate cooperation based on equality and mutual advantage. An end should be put to inequality and oppression of the poor by the rich! We call for relations of equality among all states, because only in this way can a good economic and social situation be created in the world! Developing countries and the poor everywhere must strengthen their solidarity and act in unity. Even in the process of the current socioeconomic development, developing countries, working together, can solve many problems from every point of view, including the scientific and technological points of view as well.

Therefore, the solidarity and unity of developing countries is the surest way to find real solutions, to bring about the necessary agreements, and jointly establish new ways of development.

That is the way we view these issues!

Question: Romania has excellent relations with Mexico. We have joint concerns, and in many international issues our countries have identical or very close positions. We would like to know your opinion about the way in which these relations can be developed and, within this context, about the role incumbent on the mass media in ensuring a better understanding of and a better familiarization with each other.

Answer: As far as relations between Romania and Mexico are concerned, we can state that, in general, these are good relations. Year by year we have developed our economic exchanges; however, I think that they are still much below the potential of our countries.

Taking into consideration the economic development of Romania and Mexico, we have appropriate conditions to increase our economic exchanges several times over, including production sharing, and we should add to this the cooperation in the field of science, technology, culture, and other exchanges in general between our peoples. As a matter of fact, taking into consideration the Latin origin of the Romanian and Mexican people, we believe that this should favor cooperation and the development of friendly relations.

In the field of international issues, our countries have similar or very close positions on most subjects, including the issues of disarmament and peace, of finding negotiated solutions to conflicts, of respect for independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs, and—as I have mentioned earlier—mainly on the issues of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order.

We believe that our countries, together with other countries, can and must cooperate more closely and we want to do this in the future!

In this respect, the mass media in our countries do indeed play a very important role in depicting the real problems in one country or another, outlining general policy issues and emphasizing the way in which friendship and cooperation between our peoples and with all the peoples of the world should be strengthened.

I would like to mention that we highly value the fact that a considerable part of the mass media in Mexico makes a significant contribution to developing these relations, and your magazine is one of them. In particular, I would like to stress your personal contribution to this issue.

In conclusion, I would like to convey to the Mexican people the best wishes for successes in fulfilling their targets of socioeconomic development, consolidating their independence, and strengthening the friendship between our countries. I extend wishes for much happiness to the Mexican people!

LCY's 'Stances' on Interethnic Relations

LD1909204989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0521 GMT 14 Sep 89

["Stances of the LCY Central Committee on LCY Activities in the Development of Interethnic Relations on the Basis of Socialist Self-Management"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—Many current processes, problems and conflicts in our society are directly concerned with interethnic relations or are interethnic in character. The worsening of interethnic relations is a reflection of the exacerbation of various social contradictions, a consequence of the crisis of a statist model of socialism which has still not been overcome, and which is not capable of resolving the fundamental social contradictions and development problems, but also of the ineffectiveness and incapability of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and other socialist forces in overcoming the crisis.

Self-management bound up by statism, political voluntarism and a so-called consensus economy, bereft of the necessary material support from the achievements and heritage of traditional democracy, has not developed sufficiently as the basis for the development of the nations and nationalities, nor as a factor for their intergration into a community of equal nations and nationalities. Interethnic relations and national affirmation rely more on the state than on the development of self-management. This is accompanied by an increase in distance between ethnic groups, tendencies toward national homegenization throughout the country and exclusive affiliation to the nation, as well as national narrow-mindedness, distrust and exclusiveness. The processes of the disintegration of the country are growing stronger; so are divisions of all kinds and separatist tendencies. Unitarist tendencies are also manifesting themselves. All this is draining the vital forces of society and is becoming an important factor in social and political disentegration. At the same time, the practice of separating parts of the LCY and other socialist forces from nationalist activity is growing weaker, above all within each part's own environment.

Mutual conflicts between republican and provincial leaderships and those in the federal organs are growing stronger and overstepping the bounds of understandable and legitimate differences of viewpoint with regard to our practice and the direction for social development. These political conflicts, ultimately, are an expression of socialist self-management. For this reason, and also because the continuation of these conflicts the political situation and additionally worsens interethnic and interrepublican relations, the possibilities for implementing reform are diminished. Similarly, the worsening of inerethnic conflicts has a destructive effect on the defense and self-protection capabilities of society and noticeably weakens the international standing and influence of our country.

Resolving the crisis would be the best contribution to the development of equitable interethnic relations, and the removal of negative tendencies in the development of interethnic relations contributes to a more rapid way out of the crisis. This development is only possible by involving all the creative social forces in the development and implementation of the comprehensive reform of society, of which the reform of the LCY is a constituent part and also an essential precondition. These processes have been started, particularly in line with the strategic commitment of the first LCY conference. This is the vital interest of the working class, all socialist forces, of all our nations and nationalities. Initiative and innovation among the reforming forces in all enviroments, in all the nations and nationalities, and their association with the overall movement of social reform is the one sure way to overcome the existing social crisis on a socialist, self-managing and democratic basis, and so to create the possibility for every nation and nationality to be affirmed and for the further development of equitable interethnic relations. Today this must be the basic direction of activity for all members, organs and organizations of the LCY, it must be their obligation and the basis of their responsibility.

1. The social crisis is becoming further exacerbated with the manifestation of national problems and the fanning up of intranational conflicts. The strengthening of separatist and unitarist activity blocks the conception and implementation of social reform. This is why it is the obligation and increased responsibility of LCY members and organs to lead the struggle for social reform, opposing factors and processes which hamper it, and forces and ideologies which are breaking up society and causing discord in our country. It is also essential to oppose more resolutely the increasingly pronounced attempts, in the LCY and in society, to exacerbate individual national issues and their alleged solutions which ignore or negate the Yugoslav federal community of equal nations and nationalities, and the results of the Yugoslav socialist revolution and the development to date of interethnic relations. This obliges the LCY to strengthen its critical attitude toward the efficiency of its own policy and to increase its effectiveness.

2. A principled attitude toward resolving the national issue in a multinational community such as ours is a constant factor of our socialist revolution and development and is one of the strategic issues of the LCY's program of activity.

Based on the historical achievements of the national liberation war and the socialist revolution for the development of intrerethnic relations, the LCY will advocate continuity in the implementation of the basic principles upon which the SFRY is based. These are the principles of self-determination, the sovereignty of the nation, federalism, national equality, affirmation and emancipation, and the development of interethnic relations on the basis of socialist self-management and the comprehensive development in the strengthening of the SFRY as a state and a self-managing democratic community. The implementation of national rights and freedoms is a constituent part of the overall freedoms and rights of

people as citizens, producers and members of nations and nationalities, their brotherhood and unity, a democratic federal system. For this reason any sort of revision of these principles of national equality is unacceptable to the LCY.

To acknowledge and develop all national values and to create conditions for the free and equal manifestation of feelings of national affiliation of all nations and nationalities was and is a principle commitment of the LCY. Together with the development of an awareness of the need to cherish national characteristics and feelings for differences and a tolerant attitude toward them, the LCY directs its activity also toward developing an awareness of the mutual historical and living links between our nations and nationalities.

The principle of national equality which represents the permanent basis of relations of the LCY toward the national issue and its resolution—which was transformed into a corresponding policy with Tito's advent at the head of the LCY—requires that today, too, all normative and institutional decisions must be in keeping with it. The number of members of nations and nationalities, the economic strength and degree of economic development of any one socialist republic or socialist autonomous province cannot be the basis for any kind of privilege or special status in interethnic relations. There cannot be any kind of acquired, historical rights nor real or imagined merits. It is the duty of members, organs and organizations of the LCY to oppose all forms of national discrimination and nationalist support for the division of nations into "small" and "large," "historical" and "unhistorical," "more" or "less valuable," "democratic" and "undemocratic," "Stalinist" and "progressive," "Balkan" and "European" and so on. The LCY calls for a development of Yugoslav society in which the progress of all nations and nationalities and the realization of national equality will be a factor for links and unity, and in which the existing national characteristics and differences will be an element for diversifying our multinational community. The LCY calls for a consistent differentiation always to be made between the legitimate manifestations of national identity and feelings on one hand, and nationalism on the other.

3. The essential socioeconomic origins of the crisis in Yugoslav society are to be found in a weakening of the basis of self-management, that is in a strengthening of the statist practice of development, which has led to the establishment of bureaucratic monopolies and arbitrary behavior. This framework of statist social and production relations for a long time now has been a brake to the development of production forces and the development of society. For this reason bureaucratic-republican-provincial conflicts and the intervention of national interests can be overcome only by a democratic transformation of existing social relations. Only in this way can a secure basis be developed for the development of interethnic relations in the SFRY and only in this way can the real inclusion be enabled of the Yugoslav community in progressive European and overall world trends. In the implementation of this long-term aim of social reform, the LCY will insist that the interests of material and spiritual creativity become the prevalent ones in society as a whole, in each nation and nationality, in every sociopolitical community. The LCY must act in such a way as to direct the increased political energy of people toward the creation of new socioeconomic values, development and the all-round cooperation of people, nations and nationalities.

The existing problems in interethnic relations also have their bases in the economic crisis. The long period of economic crisis and increasing inflation and increasingly strained socialist contradictions and insecurities cause dissatisfaction among citizens and worsen interethnic relations. Hence for the development of equitable interethnic relations it is of decisive importance that the state of stagnation in the economic sphere is overcome and that the trends of economic development turn toward an accelerated growth of production forces and the development of self-managing socialist relations, thus strengthening the material basis, development and affirmation of every nation and nationality and of the Yugoslav community as a whole.

The realization of economic reform—an open market economy, the economic motivation of producers, the acceleration of economic growth, greater efficiency, more rapid employment, economic and market motivated integration, a high quality of economic activity on the basis of a unified Yugoslav market—is a factor for the further development of society, and the quality of life together, cooperation and links between our nations and nationalities.

There can be no economic, technological or communications integration of the SFRY into progressive development trends in Europe and the world without a process of stronger integration within the SFRY. This is also in the interests of the affirmation of all our nations and nationalties and it is an expression of the vital need for further links between them within the Yugoslav community itself. This is also in the interesis of the working class. This is why the responsibility has been increased of LCY members, organs and organizations for the realization of the commitments to economic reform and for opposition to all forms of economic isolation and autarchic development, alientation and statist-bureaucratic division and centralization of the resources of social reproduction at the republican and provincial level and at the SFRY level.

The deepening differences on the level of economic and overall social development, both within individual social republics and social autonomous provinces and at the level of the SFRY, in a situation of deepening crisis and social hopelessness, has an exceptionally unfavorable reflection on national equality. This is why the LCY advocates that, on the strategic basis of economic reform, a policy should be developed and consistently implemented for the more rapid development of all, and within this a policy for the most rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the more rapid development of the undeveloped

socialist republics, a policy for the more rapid development of undeveloped regions and for more uniform regional development. The focus of activities must be to advance the policy and system for more rapid development, to overcome the existing state-funded financing of the development of the undeveloped, and to develop market and economically motivated links and association among economic subjects in the realization of a program for the accelerated development of the undeveloped, in which the forces of economic policy should stimulate this process by their measures and policies.

4. In the interests of all-round social development, the LCY calls for a more comprehensive understanding and evaluation of demographic development and of existing migration trends, their causes and consequences. At the same time the LCY will consistently call for an active population policy as a constituent part of development policy, at all levels of society, for the free and economically motivated movement of the population throughout Yugoslavia. It is the task of the LCY to contribute to the removal of those political and other causes and consequences of migratory trends which lead to the concentration and homogenization of the population on a national basis and so contribute to the worsening of interethnic relations and the spreading of conditions for the manifestation of nationalism.

5. Cooperation, links, working, living and developing together are the basis of the realization of the interests of all nations and nationalities in the SFRY. They require the development of a socialist democracy, national equality and overall creativity in which similarities and differences become the factors for creating and confirming new values.

The 14th extraordinary LCY congress should adopt an ideo-political platform with which the LCY will confirm its stances on changes in the political system. The LCY will advocate constitutional changes and changes in the political system that will encourage the construction of a SFRY as a rational and effective federation, as a self-managing and democratic community, and as a law-governed state of equal and freely associated nations and nationalities, with full respect for and implementation of the rights of citizens and human freedoms, as the basis of the political system.

The LCY advocates the establishment and development of democratic relations and norms at all levels in resolving problems and conflicts in interethnic relations. The LCY is committed to removing the currently emphasized exclusiveness of these problems, their ideoligization, and use in day to day politics, which channels them toward various political conflicts. This requires creating conditions in which the national factor is an essential, but not the only or predominant, context for political and other manifestations and for answering people's needs. The solution of problems in interethnic relations is not possible by means of forced national homogenizations, pressures, and confrontations.

The freedom of the individual and the equality of citizens are conditions for the complete freedom and equality of the nations and nationalities. The resolution of the national issue is not just a question of relations between the nations and nationalities, but also of the relations within them. Full national equality, development, and identity are displayed on the level of every SFRY citizen, as their inalienable right, and on the level of society and the state, as an obligation to ensure the conditions for the implementation and protection of that right.

Some of the key commitments connected with the consistent realization of citizen's rights should be incorporated into the ideological bases of LCY activities in the reform of the political system. The LCY calls for the consistent realization, through the whole system of organization of political life and through the political system, of the principle of the freedom, rights, and equality of people and citizens which, up to now, has been neglected in many respects.

By broadening the scope for the expression of the freedom and rights of citizens in the political system, national equality would be strengthened and the interests of the working class, the nations, and the nationalities would be more fully expressed. The LCY's call for the affirmation of the citizen as the subject of the political system does not mean ignoring or suppressing national interests and emancipation. Rather, it means democratically and culturally establishing them. The LCY will not allow this affirmation to be used for the separatist or hegemonistic suppression of the rights of individual nations and nationalities or for threatening national equality.

6. Political pluralism as advocated by the LCY takes as its point of departure the individual as the basic value of society and the precondition for further social development and as the result of the level achieved in its democratization. For this reason a recognition of the vital need for political pluralism and its incorporation into the political system must be one of the basic directions for social reform. Political pluralism creates the condition for people to group around various political ideas, initiatives, and programs. The LCY advocates a political pluralism which will, among other things, contribute to overcoming negative homogenizations and divisions along national lines by opening up democratic processes.

7. The basic principles of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] today represent the only sure basis for the development of the equality of nations and for the further development, deepening and strengthening of the unity of the Yugoslav multinational community in keeping with the new conditions and needs. Neither a separatist nor unitarist rearrangement or breaking up of the Yugoslav federation suit the historical, social, and national aspirations and interests of our peoples.

The socialist republics are the creations of the revolutionary struggle of the Yugoslav peoples and, on the basis of AVNOJ they are a precondition and a factor of the federation as a voluntary socialist community, which is in their common interest. In a socialist democratic community of equal nations and nationalities, relations must be arranged and developed in such a way as to prevent the imposition of a federal center, which is supranational or a hegemonistic role by any one nation, but also to prevent a separation from or breaking up of the SFRY and the creation of separate national states.

Assuming that independence and equality are inseparable sides of the same process, the LCY calls for all those changes in political life, the political system and the functioning of the federation which lead to the realization of common interests, the greater influence and freer activity of economic laws in shaping common interests. Such changes are a vital precondition for the further democratization of interethnic relations. The LCY will struggle to preserve and develop the federation as a democratic, socialist community of freely associated and equal nations and nationalities. The federal principle is the basis of relations and life together in the SFRY. To violate and cast doubt on this principle is to threaten the equality of nations and nationalities and the survival of the SFRY.

8. All nations and nationalities in the SFRY are equal. No one nation can have fewer rights than the others, nor can it seek more rights than others. The common, Yugoslav dimension of national affirmation should always be perceived in addition to one's own national affirmation.

National affirmation by any nation must not be directed against another nation. Nations develop all their national values and satisfy all national interests above all in the environment where they live and they are responsible both for its overall development and for the development of the overall Yugoslav community. The LCY Central Committee considers that members of the nations and nationalities have the right to develop, wherever they live in the SFRY, together with other citizens, respecting the specific characteristics of individual environments, their own national, cultural and other characteristics and values freely and equally, and to use their own language and alphabet. It considers that the sociopolitical community has an obligation to create the vital material and other conditions for them so that they can do this. This is a precondition for parts of a nation to communicate freely with other parts of the same nation in the interests of its overall development. At the same time, the LCY will contribute to the creation of conditions for developing and diversifying cultural ties, the flow of information, a free Yugoslav circulation of ideas, projects and creativity and, in this respect to creating conditions for overcoming national and bureaucratic barriers. A consistent insistence on national affirmation and emancipation of nations, regardless of the territorial and political disposition of some of their parts, obliges the LCY consistently to oppose the increasingly frequent nationalistic attempts to bring into question national equality and, in particular, existing Yugoslav federalism, under the guise of an alleged concern for the national development of individual parts of "one's own" nation in other republics. This manifests itself from the demand for the creation of new autonomous administrative and political units within existing federal units, to the bringing into question of the very reason for the existence of individual federal units. All this is contrary to the real interests of the people. This is why the LCY deems unacceptable the deepening of national divisions, separation and isolation among and between parts of nations in particular separate political, cultural and other national institutions. However, in the name of the struggle against paternalism for rights of members of nations and nationalities to affirm and express their national characteristics, values, interests, culture, language and alphabet wherever they live should not be stifled.

9. Within the overall development of equitable interethnic relations the LCY will continue to involve itself in advancing the position and implementing the rights of the nationalities, for their comprehensive development and the affirmation of their culture languages and customs.

It is the duty of the LCY members, organs and organizations to struggle to ensure respect for and the full implementation of all political rights of members of the nationalities, to eradicate attempts to limit or deny those rights. At the same time this also requires a consistent involvement to eradicate, above all with the active participation of members of the nationalities, attempts to make absolute the political rights of nationalities and to use them to act against the real affirmation and emancipation of the nationalities, above all from nationalist positions.

The complete and all-around development of the nationalities is an important factor in the overall development of the Yugoslav multinational community. It is also the breach for cooperation of neighboring countries. The SFRY has never and will never use its cooperation with members of its own nations in neighboring countries to violate relations between neighbors. The LCY will consistently insist that processes for links and international cooperation be broadened in the interests of the development of the nationalities themselves, our nations, and the whole Yugoslav community. For this reason the LCY opposes all attempts to abuse this cooperation for activity against the constitutional system and territorial integrity of the SFRY, all- around international cooperation and opening up. It is a principled viewpoint of the LCY that attitudes toward nationalities in the SFRY cannot depend on Yugoslavia's relations with other, in particular neighboring, countries. The rights of members of the nationalities must be implemented with consistent respect for the stance that all citizens of the SFRY are equal, regardless of their national affiliation.

10. The all-around development and affirmation of the national identity of members of Yugoslav nations of other, particularly neighboring, countries is the common concern of all our nations. For this reason the LCY

insists on the full implementation on the legitimate right of the Yugoslav State community to advocate, in keeping with existing international norms, the complete affirmation of members of the Yugoslav nations, particularly those who live as national minorities in neighboring countries, and to advocate respect for the rights of all its citizens who live in other states.

11. The LCY calls for the development of the SFRY as a federal state and a socialist social community of free and equal nations and nationalities.

In such a community every nation and nationality, every republic and province has a double responsibility; for its own development and for common development overall, for the development for the Yugoslav community and all its cohesive factors.

For the LCY the quality of being Yugoslav is the expression of affiliation and patriotic loyalty to the Yugoslav socialist community, a readiness to invest all efforts and skills in its further progressive democratic development and to resolutely defend its integrity and independence. The Yugoslav quality understood in this way is based on national affiliation and [the assumption] that the SFRY's progress and development are possible only if all people and nations in it feel free, equal, and satisfied. The LCY calls for the realization of the inalienable right of the individual to freely and equally opt for being a Yugoslav, to make clear or not to make clear his option with regard to national identity.

12. The LCY organizations, organs and members have a duty to invest their utmost efforts in implementing the LCY's adopted policy and to support and give assistance to Kosovo League of Communists [LC] in its efforts to carry out the LCY's decisions and conclusions regarding Kosovo. This will help to restore interethnic trust and peace and security for all the nations and nationalities living there. Albanian nationalism is one of the main factors of destabilization in interethnic relations in the SAP of Kosovo, in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia and in the country as a whole. its counterrevolutionary activity is one of the basic factors threatening the SFRY's stability.

The LCY and, in particular, the Serbian and Kosovo LCs, have a duty to join efforts with all progessive forces in Kosovo within a united front of working people and citizens of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo to eradicate separatism and suppress counterrevolutionary activity. However, resolute struggle against Albanian nationalism in the SAP of Kosovo, in the SR of Serbia and in the SFRY must not be allowed to create room for the activity of other nationalism, for acts of revanchism or to create feelings of insecurity and helplessness among members of Albanian nationality.

In its everyday political work the LCY will fight to heighten awareness of and disseminate facts about historical bonds between Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians and other nations and nationalities living in the SAP of Kosovo, about the inevitability of life together in Kosovo, and about the fact that only free and equal nations and nationalities in the SAP of Kosovo, in the SR of Serbia and in the SFRY can work together to build their present and future. It is necessary to continue to reiterate and promote these facts and, in addition to ideopolitical and theoretical work, this also presupposes lasting peace and security for all citizens and their property. The LCY and, above all, the LCs of Kosovo and Serbia, have a special duty and responsibility to organize a political action to this end. In its action, the LCY must focus particular attention on heightening the awareness of the damaging nature of attempts at national homogenization of any kind, including the one among Albanian nationality, carried out under the pressure from various factors but, above all, from activities from positions of Albanian nationalism among the Albanian nationality itself and also from similar processes in other environments. In this way more room is created for nationalist activities while at the same time reducing the scope for fulfilling the Albanian nationality's real national and development interests.

13. Growing nationalism in all areas of social life unambiguously points to the need for organized, consistent and resolute activity to eliminate its causes and effects and suppress the action of its proponents. The mainstay of the LCY's struggle to this end is total involvement in the efforts consistently to implement the policy of national equality, brotherhood and unity on the basis of socialist relations of self-management.

The LCY therefore requests that its members, organs and organizations improve their efforts to implement economic, ideo-political and other measures to reduce the scope for nationalist activities and to destroy the roots of nationalism. At the same time the LCY membership and organizations are asked consistently and in all environments to oppose the proponents and advocates of nationalist activity and to become involved in the efforts to wipe out the roots of nationalism. To identify the causes and proponents of nationalist ideologies and practice is one of the permanent tasks facing the LCY in its ideo-theoretical work aimed at critically identifying and eliminating hotbeds of nationalism within the forces of statization and bureaucratization in social life and those to be found in the general alientation of people today. At the same time the LCY has a duty to stimulate a search for ideas, concepts and social forces to liberate labor, the man, the citizen or a nation an from state or bureaucratic tutelage.

Insistence on national differences, national intolerance, the questioning of the integrity of individual socialist republics and the country as a whole, the denial of individual nations and nationalities, the creation of political platforms and leadership pretensions on nationalist basis, the abuse of and tendency to disparage national values, the use of social organizations, associations, and meetings for activities directed against other nations, all inevitably lead to divisions and conflicts among people, nations, and nationalities. In view of this,

the LCY will make consistent efforts to counter bureaucratic-statist relations which, as a rule, give rise first to centralist and unitarist and then to factional and separatist tendencies, which feed on one another. Bureaucratism in a multinational society cannot avoid the traps of nationalism, either separatist or unitarist in nature. It survives precisely by relying on nationalism. This indicates that the cause of current interethnic conflicts does not lie in the struggle for socialist self-management, equality and democracy; rather it lies in the struggle for division of power and for a system in the SFRY that would enable national bureaucracies, through conflicts with one another and at the expense of workers' and citizens' democratic rights, to gain even more power and even more rights. The LCY demands consistent and energetic efforts to remove opportunism and vacillation of the republican and provincial LC organizations toward their "own" and all other nationalism. The LCY rejects dilemmas about a more or less dangerous nationalism. The LCY principled stand is that all kinds of nationalism are dangerous and the one the LCY fails to counter among its own ranks is the most dangerous one. Struggle against nationalism must be waged on the basis of identical ideo-political criteria. The LCY must rid itself of all those who act from positions contrary to the LCY's program commitments or from positions of nationalism and who have an inconsistent and opportunist attitude toward manifestations and practice of nationalist activity. This particularly refers to the LCY members in leading positions.

14. There has recently been evidence of frequent attempts politically to minimize and discredit the role of Josip Broz Tito. In their essence, these attempts are attacks on the Yugoslav socialist revolution, on the concept of socialist self-management and on the policy of national equality, brotherhood, and unity, i.e. on the revolutionary way in which the national issue has been resolved with the enormous and historical contribution from the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia], i.e. the LCY, and Josip Broz Tito. These attacks are a most frequent form of advocating nationalist ideology and policy. The LCY members, organs, and organizations have the duty to actively and creatively participate in critical debates on all relevant issues concerning the concept and practice of our revolution; to improve their ideo-theoretical capacity to differentiate between these debates and attacks on and attempts to discredit the work and personality of Josip Broz Tito; and to offer a consistent and most vigorous ideo-political resistance to all forms of nationalist attacks on the work and personality of Josip Broz Tito.

For most of the time, the LC leadership remained passive in light of these phenomena; their statements were unconvincing and futile. The central and provincial committees and other LC leaders must intensify their activity in suppressing attacks on the work of Josip Broz Tito.

15. The LCY's duty in all spheres of social life is to contribute to the efforts to implement the policy of national equality. The LCY members, organs, and organizations must improve their capacity to work toward resolving existing problems by means and in the way appropriate to problems affecting the given area of social life instead of politicizing negatively all problems as being exclusively of interethnic nature. This only serves to hamper or postpone their resolution.

In the future the LCY will continue to insist on full recognition of cultural heritage and of contemporary cultural achievements and values of all our nations and nationalities. This calls for increased involvement in cultural cooperation in all areas from publishing and translating activities to editorial policy, daily newspapers, magazines, journals, film, radio, and television communications. The main purpose and direction of these activities is to safeguard and further develop cultural identity of all our nations and nationalities, to understand and to bring closer together the cultures of Yugoslav nations and to promote them throughout the world. At the same time the LCY will consistently counter nationalist and traditionalist interpretations and abuses of culture and achievements in that sphere.

In order to create and promote awareness of the fact that the knowledge and use of the languages and scripts of our nations and nationalities is a prerequisite for coexistence, for mutual understanding, for respect and closeness, the LCY will take part in the efforts to create social, political, cultural and other conditions for the studying of, for the familiarization with, and equal status for, the languages of all our nations and nationalities on the entire territory of the SFRY.

The LCY will persevere in the process of democratizing the system and activity of public information media, developing an analytical and critical attitude to social and political reality as the safest way for success in the activity of the media in developing national equality and thwarting nationalism. Communists in public information media and especially those in responsible editorial positions and in founding organs, must insist on comprehensive and objective information about the overall situation and trends in society, about all the nations and nationalities; they must contribute to the efforts to overcome the existing tendency not to take nationalism in their own environment too seriously and must be consistent in countering all forms in which nationalism is manifested in the media. This calls for an end to all forms of political tutelage on the part of leaderships over the public information media which are being used as an instrument in everyday political conflicts whose influence on interethnic relations has been negative. The LCY members, organs and organizations have the duty, in ideo-political activity, to end the propaganda and information conflicts which have got out of control, in order to redirect the information media toward performing their responsible social and political role. Communists in the information media have a special duty to respect and develop democratic dialogue, the spirit of

tolerance, the feeling for differences and for sociocultural and national pecularities, as a part of their contribution to building a Yugoslav community and unity.

The development of sport, physical education and especially their educational roles, are an important prerequisite for developing the overall culture of interethnic relations and strengthening Yugoslav socialist patriotism. This calls for the LCY's consistent efforts to overcome negative developments in sport and physical culture and especially to safeguard them from being misused for nationalist goals.

16. The LCY's aim is to secure broad-based participation by citizens, regardless of their religious tendencies and affiliations, in the struggle to develop self-managing relations, national equality, brotherhood and unity. To this end the LCY will oppose incidents of sectarian attitude to people as a result of their religious beliefs. It is necessary for the LCY members and organs and especially communists in the Socalist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, to take part in the efforts to counter mounting and increasingly open activity from clerico-nationalist positions by sections of individual religious communities and also to attempts by nationalists to misuse religion, the church and religious beliefs, for political purposes.

17. Full democratic development of interethnic relations together with the quality of our country's nations and nationalities are one of the fundamental social prerequisites of the concepts of all-people's defense and of the SFRY's defense system inherent in it. The backbone of this system is the Yugoslav People's Army which must continue to be developed and recognized as a common armed force of all our nations and nationalities, of the working people and citizens. A consistent, well-argued and determined ideo-political resistance to various nationalist attacks on the concept of all people's defence, and on the Yugoslav People's Army, is the duty of the LCY members, organs and organizations, especially in those environments where such attacks originate.

The LCY's overall activity in this area along the lines of social reforms and in the direction of its transformation will serve continually to strengthen all vital social prerequisites of the system of all-people's defense and to reaffirm and enrich the idea of brotherhood and unity and of Yugoslav socialist patriotism.

The LCY stresses the need for the consistent and efficient implementation of the rights, duties and responsibilities for all those involved in the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection in consolidating inerethnic trust and overcoming negative tendencies and developments in the area of interethnic relations.

18. The LCY calls for an analysis of and an open critical debate on all key aspects of the nationality issue and the development of interethnic relations. Debates of this kind must serve to enhance the policy of national equality on the basis of socialist self-management by being the training ground for a comprehensive and objective analysis of individual problems, for well-argued dialogue in the spirit of tolerance and for developing the culture of dialogue.

19. The LCY Central Committee Presidium, the republican and provincial central committee, and the Committee of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army are being charged with the task of implementing these stances through their concrete ideo-political activity.

The LCY basic organizations are expected to use these stances as departure points for a thorough critical debate on implementing the policy of national equality and to set in motion organized activity to implement these stances and to consolidate their own role and responsibility in it. The central and provincial committees as well as the Committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army must draw up the directions for their own political action in implementing the policy of national recognition and developing interethnic relations on the basis of socialist self-management and in the struggle against nationalism. In the course of overall activity it will be necessary to promote the class-social dimension of the process of national recognition and emancipation with the working class, the working people and citizens as its main proponents.

The LC's positive and creative attitude to the stances on interethnic relations will contribute to the efforts to establish ideological unity within the LC in implementing both the policy of national equality and a social reform.

New Appointments in Armed Forces Reported

LD2109163489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency, headed by President Janez Drnovsek, today received Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic and Lieutenant Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, the outgoing and the newly appointed chief of the SFRY Armed Forces general staff, respectively, and other high-ranking SFRY armed forces officers upon their relinquishing old, or taking on new duties.

On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, President Drnovsek is reported to have thanked and paid tribute to Generals Mirkovic, Lukezic, Popovic, Visnjic, and Todorivic for their contribution to the development of the armed forces and to the strengthening of the SFRY's defense capacity. President Drnovsek congratulated the newly appointed generals on their appointments and wished them success in their work.

The reception was also attended by Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense; Vice Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] LCY Organization Committee Presidium; and Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense.

In accordance with the Law on Armed Forces Service, the following colonel generals born in 1927 will terminate their active military service on 31 December 1989: Stevan Mirkovic, the chief of the SFRY Armed Forces general staff; Anton Lukezic, commander of the First Military District; Martin Spegelj, commander of the Fifth Military District; Dr Svetislav Popovic, assistant federal secretary for national defense with responsibilities for the military-economic sector; Svetozar Visnjic, deputy chief of the general staff of the SFRY armed forces; and Spasoje Todorovic, commander of the Territorial Defense of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The following appointments have been made under an SFRY Presidency decree:

—Lieutenant Colonel General Blagoje Adzic to be the chief of the general staff of the SFRY Armed Forces. He was educated at top military schools at home and abroad. He has been a battalion, regiment, brigade, division, and corps commander. He headed an army district and also served as SFRY Armed Forces general staff deputy chief. He received a number of commendations and prizes, and has been awarded the Order of the Great Star for military services, among others.

—Lieutenant Colonel General Aleksandar Spirovski to be commander of the First Military District. He was educated at top Yugoslav People's Army military schools. He commanded a division, a regiment, and an army district. He was deputy commander of the First Military District. He also holds a number of commendations, prizes including the Order of the People's Army with Laurels.

—Lieutenant Colonel General Konrad Kolsek to be the commander of the Fifth Military District. He was educated at top Yugoslav People's Army military schools. He commanded a division, a regiment, and a corps and was the head of the first administration of the chief of the SFRY Armed Forces general staff. He was deputy commander of the Fifth Army District. He was commended on several occasions and received prizes including the Order of the People's Army with Laurels.

—Lieutenant Colonel General Aleksandar Stamatovic to be assistant federal secretary for national defense with responsibilities for the military-economic sector. He has a degree in mechanical engineering and also attended a foreign armament school. He has a PhD in technical science. He was a department head in the Military-Technical Institute, and also headed the office for research, development, and production of weapons and military equipment in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. He has several commendations and prizes including the Order with Great Star for military services.

—Lieutenant Colonel General Slavoljub Djokic to be the commander of the Territorial Defense of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. He was educated at top military schools at home and abroad. He commanded a battalion, a regiment, and a division. He was head of an army district staff. He was the head of the Land Forces Academy and of the Center of High Military Schools of the YPA Land Forces. In addition to many commendations and prizes he was also given the Order of the People's Army with Laurels.

LCY Presidium Considers Slovene Constitution

LD2009205589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—At the session held on 20 September 1989, presided over by Milan Pancevski, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium considered the existing political problems and the created atmosphere in connection with the proposed amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and in respect to this it drew attention to far-reaching negative political consequences for, not just the constitutional set-up of the country and relations in the federation, but also for the overall political situation in the country, if the adopted amendments are incompatible with the SFRY Constitution.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium is convinced, it was stressed in the statement from the session, that the Slovene Communists with their political efforts, while respecting the stances of the SFRY Presidency, will make a contribution so that in the process of the adoption of the amendments in the constitutionally determined competent bodies and in a legal proceedure envisaged for their adoption, responsibility of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is manifested both for its own development and the development of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia Insists on Disputed Amendments

LD2109200189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—Proposed amendments to Slovenia's Constitution are not contrary to the federal Constitution and they do not jeopardize Yugoslavia's unity and its constitutional principles, the Slovenian Socialist Alliance leadership assessed today.

Thus the Slovenian Socialist Alliance joins the unyielding stand of the republic's political top which has refused the request of the Yugoslav State Presidency to coordinate the disputed amendments with the Yugoslav Constitution.

The Slovenian Socialist Alliance leadership considers that the Yugoslav State Presidency has acted irresponsibly when it opened a discussion on the amendments to the Slovenian Constitution shortly prior to their adoption. The stand of the Yugoslav State Presidency, as well as criticizms from all over the country, are interpreted as an organised political pressure on the sovereignty of the Slovenian people and its right to adopt the constitution independently.

It was said that by the amendments to its constitution Slovenia strengthens its own sovereignty within Yugoslavia, so that the fear over Slovenia's secession is superfluous because Slovenia neither wants to, nor is capable of seceding.

General Ivo Tominc (?was the) only one to assess that the amendment to the Slovenian Constitution which restricts the competences of the collective head of state in commanding the armed forces and imposing the state of emergency is not in keeping with the federal Constitution. Polde Bibic urged that conflicts and misunderstandings in the country be settled first, and then constitutions changed.

Rejecting these objections, the majority of the Socialist Alliance leadership members concluded that to revise the disputed amendments and not to adopt them within the set time-limit would mean a moral defeat of the Slovenian policy.

Of 68 Slovenian amendments on which the republic assembly has to take a stand on September 27, six are disputed. Of the six the most disputed is the provision on the sovereign right of the Slovenian people to self-determination, secession and joining others. This is followed by the amendment which restricts the right of the Presidency of Yugoslavia to decide to use armed forces in peace and introduce the state of emergency without the agreement of Slovenia's political top, as well as the right of the republic to disregard decisions adopted by the federation if it considers that these decisions are contrary to the republic's interests.

Slovene Poll Supports Constitution Amendments

AU2109203889

[Editorial report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 15 September on pages 1, 3 carries an 800-word report on a public opinion poll on the amendments to the Slovene Constitution. The poll was conducted by telephone among 323 respondents, of whom 60 had primary education, 80 vocational education, 112 secondary education, 27 higher education, and 42 university education, and 2 did not state their education level. The majority of the respondents were between ages 30 and 39. The time the poll was taken is not specified.

The results of the poll are presented in five diagrams, with answers in percentages as follows:

First question: "The amendments to the Slovene Constitution contain the right to secession or association. Do you agree with this provision?"

Yes, completely 73.7 percent
Yes, partially 5 percent
Do not agree 4 percent
Don't know 13.6 percent
Do not want to say 3.7 percent

Second question: "Are you acquainted with the criticisms that the amendments to the Slovene Constitution will lead to a confederation?"

Yes 52.3 percent
No 47.7 percent

Third question, asked of those who replied with "yes" to the second question: "Do you agree with the criticisms that the amendments to the Slovene Constitution will lead to a confederation?"

Agree 4.7 percent
Partially agree 5.9 percent
Do not agree 72.8 percent
Don't know 14.2 percent
Do not want to answer 2.4 percent

Fourth question: "The amendments to the Slovene Constitution contain a provision about economic sovereignty. Do you agree with the proposed provisions?"

Yes, completely 88.2 percent
Yes, partially 2.8 percent
Do not agree 0.9 percent
Don't know 6.2 percent
Do not want to say 1.9 percent

Fifth question: "The amendments to the Slovene Constitution include a provision that an emergency situation may only be proclaimed by the Slovene Assembly. Do you agree?"

Yes, completely 78 percent
Yes, partially 1.9 percent
Do not agree 3.7 percent
Don't know 13.3 percent
Do not want to say 3.1 percent

DELO Views Presidency, Slovene Constitution

AU2109083089 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Sep 89 p 1

[Joze Volfand "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Further Scope for Extremes"]

[Text] The state Presidency has not made a decision about discussing the various constitutional provisions as envisaged by the republics and provinces simultaneously, nor has made a decision on leaving arbitration about possibly or actually disputed constitutional provisions to the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia. It took it upon itself to discuss Slovenia or rather the Slovene constitutional amendments and to condemn them.

Its judgment is on the whole completely identical with the assessments that have been made earlier in some parts of Yugoslavia, and most sharply in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. These assert that the amendments are in conflict with the SFRY Constitution, that they are dangerous for the stability of the state, that they are therefore anti-Yugoslav, and that they undermine the unity of the legal system.

The top state leadership, which does possess this right under the Constitution, has thus decided to set off a political process which will be very complicated, because the political assessments of the amendments are very grave. It must be known, however, that the renewal of the political system in Slovenia designed in this way has received mass support. Does this mean that the Presidency stances confirm the predictions of those who said several months ago that "Slovene excesses"—as they are now being presented—suit some people for their political aims? This policy, which in the past 2 years antagonized Yugoslavia and abolished dialogue, which began corroding the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] spirit of Yugoslavia, and because of which the Slovene constitutional amendments stress some principles known from the first postwar Constitution, has not been conducted in Ljubljana. The Presidency certainly knows this. It appears, however, that it is avoiding a discussion about the causes of individual constitutional provisions. It prefers to decide, whether it wants it or not, for a conflict which will benefit neither the stability of Yugoslavia nor its democratic future. It will encourage extremists on all sides. Such a radicalized politicization of the constitutional discussion may indeed endanger Yugoslavia of AVNOJ regardless of the amendments adopted by the Slovene Assembly.

Clash Between 'Bolshevism,' Democracy Viewed

AU2209074889 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Sep 89 p 2

[Danilo Slivnik commentary: "Exhibitionists Searching for Assistants"]

[Text] One thing is certain: in a country in which the majority of the constitutional provisions and legal regulations has been just an expensive list of "pious wishes," which means something that certainly will not come true during your lifetime, it is cynical to the extreme to make the present demands for political and economic changes conditional upon any constitutional or legal limitations. This is precisely what is happening now that Slovenia is compiling the amendments to the republican constitution. Some of the envisaged amendments which, in their constitutional law framework cannot be brought into conflict either with the prevailing political aims or the Constitution that is presently in force, have caused very controversial reaction and, in some parts of Yugoslavia, have turned into a means of direct political pressure on the present Slovene policy.

You may say that you do not know what is going on, because Yugoslavia has had so many constitutional changes without any effect on what we call the "unpleasant facts" of real life. It is high time you open your eyes: The constitutional changes, and especially the sharp demands to quickly adopt a new federal Constitution which can be heard in some parts of Yugoslavia and for which drafts have already been prepared in the form of various proposals for "a reform of the political system" are at this moment just one of the fields in which the great political conflict in the country is taking place. Well-known protagonists are in action: the advocates of centralism and authoritarian bolshevism, supporting the original sovereignty of the federation, on the one side, and the advocates of democratic changes and equality among the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, supporting the original sovereignty of the peoples, on the other. The matter is unusual only in so far that some people in the country obviously still believe that the present social and economic stalemate —be it the reform proposals by the Markovic government or the Slovene program of political pluralism—should really be blamed on some poorly written "legal norms" or "constitutional formulations," and not almost exclusively on quite consciously and well prepared political blockades that lead the entire country to a state where only one single solution should be possible. That solution is a renewed complete centralization of the country with all the appropriate accompanying symptoms of "early socialism," which is to say, further nationalizations, financial redistributions, reforms in competences and in administration, and perhaps even a new "unified language."

The matter becomes much more understandable if we look at the present differences from the angle of the events connected with the adoption of the constitutional amendments last year, for we can see that these amendments became insignificant only a few weeks after they were adopted, even though their real potential for reform had hardly been tapped. Preparations for the majority of the systemic laws which should have been an introduction to the economic reform had not even begun, let alone allowed anybody to assess their actual importance for the coming economic transformation. On the contrary, immediately after the amendments were adopted and even before the present Markovic Government was inaugurated, the most aggressive part of the Belgrade press launched a campaign for a new Yugoslav Constitution to be adopted as soon as possible, alleging that the existing political system was such a great contradiction to the actual situation in the country that it could not be repaired merely with constitutional amendments. The well-known demands for the implementation of the extremely disputable principles, "one citizen, one vote" also appeared in public at that time, and they soon became the chief trademark not only of the project called "the antibureaucratic revolution" but also of the Serbian views on the shaping of the new Yugoslav Constitution which should somehow be turning into a fact.

It is probably now no longer necessary to stress that this "exhibitionist principle," which soon underwent a forced media expansion to other Yugoslav communities, is quite unacceptable for a multinational state like Yugoslavia, although it must be admitted that its advocates cleverly exploited the open space that appeared in the country after the general demand was accepted for a transition from a bolshevik state to a civilian society and the political affirmation of the individual citizen. This of course was just another of the new simplifications

brought by the times, because we are almost convinced that nobody—not even those who believe in various "panslavic projects" and incessantly make various suggestions for "Yugoslav associations" of one kind or another—believes that human integrity can be assured in our country without national integrity. If it could be, then, in a way it would not matter in which state a man lives, and the Slovenes would probably be closest to their social affirmation in the Trieste region or in Austrian Carinthia, whatever you may make of it.

Of course one knows that this is not so. Therefore we need our statehood (within Yugoslavia), and thus the announced constitutional amendments....

Croatian LC Central Committee Proposal Drafted

LD2109225789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1918 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—The Croatian League of Communists (LC) Central Committee advocates federalism as the best form of existence for multinational Yugoslavia, political pluralism and the abandoning of single-party monopoly, the development of market-oriented economy, the building of an efficient and legal state, a greater degree of protection of human rights and freedoms and Yugoslav synthesis.

These are the main principles of a draft proposal of directions for future actions of the Croatian LC on the reform of society and party, which the Croatian Party Central Committee discussed today. The draft will be submitted for public debate in eight days, after which it will be adopted by the 11th Croatian LC Congress.

The document underlines federalism as an irreplaceable instrument of preserving good internationality relations in the country. For the Croatian Party Central Committee, there is no alternative to Yugoslavia as a federation.

The Central Committee warns that the development of the federation must not be based on any kind of hegemony.

The draft platform of action of the Croatian LC supports the development of pluralist democracy through the socialist alliance (the most massive socio-political organization in the country), the assemblies and the public. Opinions urging political pluralism which includes the possibility of a multi-party system were also heard during the debate.

The orientation which is called Yugoslav synthesis, urged by the Croatian LC Central Committee, implies the affirmation of togetherness, equality of the nations and nationalities and the integration of democratic forces.

The contents of the Yugoslav synthesis at this moment are determined by the reform of the economic system and the battle against inflation, in which everyone in Yugoslavia must participate, it was said at the debate.

Instead of clashes and calls on "its own people to recognize the enemy in another nation, competitive relations are urged in which everyone will seek ways of resolving the crisis." The Croatian communists warn that no one can force upon them the conditions they do not want and that they in turn will not force their own stands upon others. They stress that joint solutions should be sought through well-argumented democratic dialogue and by respecting the interests of others. If a joint solution cannot be reached, the Croatian communists propose that everyone proves the advantages of his approach in his own region with concrete results.

The draft proposal supports the development of mixed types of ownership, ie. the market competition of public, state, cooperative and private property. It also supports the separation of politics from the economy.

Bosnian Social Alliance Discusses National Rift

AU2009091589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 89 p 9

[M. Caric report: "Does a National Division Exist in the Leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Sep—Events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which have further aggravated the political climate in the republic recently, were discussed today at the session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The delegates discussed above all the recent meetings in Nevesinje and the dissatisfaction of citizens and workers in Sipovo, Olovo, and Visegrad, which had different causes, and the joint conclusion was reached that problems have not been solved anywhere. There was also a discussion on the religious manifestations that took place in the summer and on the constant question of how the Socialist Alliance should act in such circumstances.

Edina Residovic, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina, proposed that the delegates of the republican assembly be briefed on the report by the competent organs on all the instances of manipulation of religious celebrations in Bosnia-Hercegovina this year and about the possible repercussions of the next people's meeting in Titov Drvar, and this suggestion was accepted. It was again underscored that the citizens' right to assembly had never been denied anywhere but it must be known in advance exactly what the meetings will consist of, in order to avoid nationalist offenses and negative politicization.

The Executive Council of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on whose behalf Nedjo Milicevic, vice president, spoke, has so far been the only body to take practical steps to sort out the situation in the communal administrations which have, as a rule, failed. Milicevic sharply criticized the work of the communal organs which ignore the numerous demands of citizens, neither did he mince his words in his strict assessment of the work of the Executive Council. A permanent republican working group will be set up for the Nevesinje commune and the

same will be done everywhere where communal organs work badly. There will be quite a lot of work in Nevesinje as no response has yet been given to the disgusted citizens in reply to the question of how the money for the financial rescue after the earthquake, the money for housing loans, and the money for the "green plan" were spent. Various rumors are not being denied and, to judge by these, this really does involve large social funds.

Mentioning the deterioration in interethnic relations in the republic, Novo Kecman criticized recent speeches by Muhamed Abadzic, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and Rasim Kadic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina youth organization.

"I cannot agree with Abadzic's assessment of the division in the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina on a national basis. If such a thing exists, this should be discussed in the appropriate organs without immediately presenting such matters to the public," said Novo Kecman and also pointed to Kadic's assessment that the speech by Mirko Ostojic this summer was criticized only "by Muslim delegates while the Serbs kept quiet." Kecman proposed that a debate on the possible national rift in the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be conducted in the appropriate social organs.

Much was said during the afternoon's work of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina about the retorts by Rasim Kadic and Mirko Ostojic and it is expected that this organ will take its own stand on this.

According to the latest report, new talks will be held in Sekovici which will be attended by both "belligerent" sides.

The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina endorsed the working group's proposal that Ante Budimir, delegate in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, be relieved of his post in this body because of his objective responsibility for the construction of a house in Neum.

Questions Arise About Geopolitical Balance

AU2009143989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Sep 89 p 9

[Vlado Teslic commentary in the "Week in the World" column: "Putting One's Foot in One's Mouth or...."]

[Text] In the times when tens of thousands of Germans have been crossing over (or fleeing) via "the Hungarian connection" from a sovereign and internationally recognized German state, which is still a member of the Warsaw Pact, to the other sovereign German state, the pillar of the other military political pact that is still turned against the USSR and Eastern Europe, serious and responsible people throughout Europe, people with knowledge of history and political experience, are starting to ask what will happen to the geopolitical balance that has more or less ensured peace during the last 40 years.

The majority of the FRG media do not hide their delight only because the Berlin Wall has been skillfully bypassed just as the Maginot Line had been in the past, but because the "Eastern empire" and the system (communist, as they say) on which it relies is allegedly falling apart. GDR officials are accusing the government of the other German state of causing its own citizens' exodus, saying that the latter has taken up the dishonest job of paying refugees and of returning the cold war to central and Eastern Europe, and that it has revived revanchism and has trampled upon the Helsinki Final Act. Bonn has replied that what is involved is no longer cold war, but the stone age, alluding, of course, to the situation in the GDR.

The superpowers mostly remain silent, except for occasional nervous reactions by some of the high state officials, such as Ligachev's statement in Berlin condemning Bonn's policy or the statement the U.S. ambassador to the FRG, Walters, made and which the French immediately included in their famous list of "putting one's foot in one's mouth." The ambassador, a former general and intelligence man, said that the existence of two German states is not normal and that the United States is in favor of their uniting soon.

The Second Stage of Helsinki?

Is one of the empires falling apart (something nobody reasonable would regret, providing the other one also falls apart)? How is one to behave during something that is obviously a new stage of realignment in central and Eastern Europe, when nothing is certain and when the empire doomed to destruction has still not had its last word, and when it obviously still possesses the considerable capability to "strike back"? Should one put (one's own) foot in (other people's) mouth or prepare oneself for a peaceful and stable transformation from the "imperial" stage of European relations and divisions, that is, confrontations, to the other stage of Helsinki: military detente and the full independence and equality of all countries on our continent?

This is very important for Yugoslavia, which has invested so much into the process of detente and all of the achievements of Helsinki, and whose role in the possible second stage of the "European perestroyka" on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act can only increase, particularly after we have strengthened both the general course of nonalignment and the nonaligned position and standing of Yugoslavia. Are our diplomats and other responsible elements thinking about that? If they are, then are they outlining possible solutions which would include a greater commitment by our country? We should not be late again in jumping aboard the "European train" or in moving into the "European home."

While Moscow is mostly silent because of perfectly understandable reasons—there is nothing so painful for

the great powers as re-examining their own military-political strategies—one is surprised by the lack of ambition, that is, of readiness on the part of the main Western players to come to grips with the reality and the dangers of the new stage of European trends in the right way. Are they in fact being lulled by the waves of euphoric victory over the other empire, reckoning who will profit from it and by how much, or are they unprepared for what they are publicly proclaiming and for changing something on their side, too?

Anyhow, President Bush has still not set the date of his meeting with the Soviet leader. The policy of "let us let Gorbachev stew in his own juice" may cost the West dearly.

What would happen if somebody in Moscow (this does not have to be Gorbachev) were to think that everything that has been happening is a consequence of perestroyka and represents a danger to the strategic interests of the USSR? Therefore, what if one reacts in the already known way which includes the use of force? The fact that the USSR did not react in that way when the cases of Poland and Hungary shook the alliance does not mean that it will not react when the position of the GDR in the alliance is shaken. It could turn out that Moscow does not care about the Warsaw Pact as much as it does about the GDR as a basis of geopolitical stability in Europe.

The Hungarian Connection

In this context, "the Hungarian connection" has a limited reach and, however attractive it may be for the West, it will have to be disconnected. In fact, that will happen at the moment when Berlin denies its citizens the right to travel to Hungary, and ultimately when the GDR regime accepts the inevitability of its own perestroyka.

"The Hungarian Connection" has a current importance for us in Yugoslavia, too. First, it is important because this means the removal of the "iron curtain" next to Austria, something which the Hungarians turned into a spectacle and a commodity that can be sold. Second, it is important because the border has been opened for German refugees, a gesture in which one should not only see a Hungarian preoccupation with humanitarian aims, but a deeper political meaning and purpose. Finally, it is important because of the initiative on the demilitarization of the borders with Austria and Yugoslavia.

We have to understand that Hungary is no longer just a neighboring socialist country which belongs to the Warsaw Pact and with which we have friendly (but not very developed) relations. The new leadership of the country, still headed by the reformist wing of the Communist Party, also has some considerable international political ambitions. It is mostly turned toward the West. This will remain its intention, even at the cost of the aggravation of relations with many neighbors. After all, Budapest has always had worse relations with its neighbors than, for example, with the Germans.

Therefore, now our country has a new political partner and we must be benevolent toward its internal political reforms and aspirations to gain complete control over its sovereignty, but we also must be cautious toward its international political ambitions. This is what prewar and postwar history has taught us.

Of course, the initiative on the demilitarization of borders should be welcomed because it tells us about a desire to remove or weaken the historical and political heritage that was often turned against our country.

In any case, Yugoslavia will hail not only the withdrawal of the Soviet troops—whose focus was on endangering Yugoslavia—from neighboring Hungary, but also the possible unilateral disengagement of Hungary in the border zone, all the more so because our country has never made any move to provoke the concentration of Hungarian or Soviet troops in our neighboring country.

All the rest is a question of time and further changes which have not been completed in Hungary and which, when headed by other political forces, may also take another direction, as well as the question of changes in overall relations in central and Eastern Europe.